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UNION NATIONALISM IN FLORIDA

by HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

I

Much has been written about the secession movement in the South, about the fire-eaters, the defenders of state rights, the evolution of theories to protect minority property rights, and the development of that sectionalism which is sometimes termed "Southern nationalism." Less is heard about Southern defenders of the Union-men who conceived of their national loyalty as devotion to the federal union rather than to a section. These latter men, it is true, were in a minority in the South, but they were usually men of wealth and position who were able to **make** their views known if not popular.

This latter school of thought is the subject of this paper. It is the purpose of this brief study to view the neglected writings of those Florida men who considered their loyalty to the South to be best served when defending the Union. In their pleas for moderation and their arguments for cautious action we see reminders of conservative traditional nationalists of earlier years and other lands—England's Edmund Burke, France's Viscomte de Bonald, and Germany's Friederich von Schlegel.

There are many striking points of similarity between what Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes calls "traditional nationalism" and the pro-Union philosophy of such outstanding Florida conservatives as Thomas Brown, Columbus Drew, George T. Ward, and, above all, Richard Keith Call. These men were persons of wealth and property and were leaders of the conservative party of their day, the Whigs. They set forth an idea of traditional Union nationalism, and constantly bolstered it with references to the writings of great early American leaders and to past American history.

In their writings, their speeches, their actions, they constantly fought what they termed radical ideas, regardless of whether those ideas were of Southern or Northern origin. Basically, they had the same prejudices about Southern institutions as did the radicals of the South. These traditionalists, however, viewed these in-

stitutions as national in nature as well as Southern. They could not separate the idea of preservation of Southern institutions from the idea of preservation of the Union. They would resist change from either secessionists or abolitionists, and would preserve the Union as originally set up by the Constitution.

In the North this same attitude was bolstered by the leading propertied interests of the day. Daniel Webster was their outstanding spokesman. He condemned abolitionists and secessionists alike. He saw that civil strife would be to the detriment of propertied interests throughout the nation, and feared the consequences to Northern property which might result from the precedent established by radical measures against Southern property. These men, of North as well as South, viewed the federal Union as the handiwork of inspired men—as a delicately balanced system which had become sanctified with the years. To radically alter any part of that system, any of the institutions comprising it, would be to endanger or perhaps to destroy it. Their feelings of reverence for the Union as a permanent, unchangeable arrangement was akin to the semi-religious reverence which was exhibited by Edmund Burke when he wrote about the traditional English government. Among political writers, no one has expressed this idea of traditional nationalism clearer than has Burke.¹

Burke was obsessed with the inadequacy of individual reason, and accordingly was suspicious of abstract ideas, such as liberty, equality, and fraternity, in politics. He believed that abstractions assumed a degree of inventiveness which politicians do not possess, and a degree of pliability which institutions do not have. Institutions, he said, are not invented or proclaimed; they grow and embody in themselves the accumulated wisdom of a national group. Hence, they must be cherished, and changed only with caution, “for the planning and contriving politician, with venturesome, speculative plans for new institutions,

1. George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York: Holt, 1937), p. 696.

can easily destroy what it passes his wit to rebuild." Old institutions work well because they are familiar, hence the plans of revolutionists to create new governments and new Constitutions seemed mad and tragic to Burke. These expressions of Burke's are ideas basic to traditional nationalism.

Compare these points with the writings of Thomas Brown, the governor of Florida during the sectional disputes of 1850, and note the striking doctrinal similarity. While those violent arguments of 1850 were raging, Brown wrote,

Nothing human is "enduring;" but under the smiles of Divine Providence, may we not hope for comparative stability in the provisions of that compendium of human wisdom — the Constitution of the United States.²

I do not wish to see another revolution, and if I feel called upon to blush in this connection it is for those . . . who would call a convention of modern politicians to remedy the inherent defects in the great Charter of our liberties—who think themselves able to improve it—who in respect to anticipated grievances would change or destroy it—and who seek to delude the people with dazzling schemes of a Southern Confederacy."

In these few words Brown expressed the greatest possible respect for traditional, established institutions. Here we see distrust of individual reason when directed toward altering those established institutions, as well as his contempt for the revolutionary who would invent new governments and new constitutions. Thomas Brown equals Edmund Burke in expressing a conservative nationalism based upon traditional institutions—institutions which express the national genius and which cannot be destroyed without gravely injuring the nation.

2. Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

3. *Pensacola Gazette*, (Pensacola, Fla.) Mar. 9, 1850.

4. *Florida Republican*, (Jacksonville, Fla.) Mar. 30, 1850.

If, as Rollin G. Osterweis⁵ suggests, we view the Age of Jefferson, the period of the Virginia dynasty, as the American Age of the Enlightenment, then we can also view the following period as the American Age of Romanticism. From the humanism and enlightened self interest of that earlier age, we shift in the Age of Romanticism to impassioned defense of sectional interests on the one hand, and unreasoning defense of the status quo on the other. This American Romanticism was marked by emotionalism, lack of intellectual discipline, and increasing sectionalism. Intellectual life became sterile, and the most important intellectual influence in the American South became the writings of the European romanticists.⁶ Byron's poetry, Moore's songs, Scott's novels, and selected writings of Carlyle and Michelet gave impetus to the romanticist atmosphere.'

Romantic Southern nationalism and traditional Union nationalism were both features of this romantic revolt against rationalism in the South. The romantic Southern nationalists were the Southern radicals-the secessionists who were so despised by traditional Union nationalists such as Call, Brown, and Drew. Under the leadership of South Carolina politicians and publicists, many of those radicals attempted to create the concept of a differentiated Southern culture. They attempted to portray a Southern nationalism built on the idea that the Southern people were a repressed cultural group striving for political independence in order to preserve that culture. These romantic nationalists also tried to steal some of the thunder of the Unionists by showing that custom and tradition were on their side as bulwarks of that Southern nationalism. Southern institutions, they said, were the historical expressions of the genius of the Southern people and had a differentiated background from Northern institutions.

5. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1949). This is a study of romantic Southern nationalism.

6. Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II (New York : Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), pp. 30-31.

7. Osterweis, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Many historians put much emphasis upon cultural differences as being responsible for Southern nationalism. If we agree with them we must admit that that nationalism was restricted to a very small group of the Southern people. Only the leisure class, the aristocrats, were influenced greatly by the writings of the European romanticists. Only the Southern aristocrat patterned his society after that of the European aristocracy. There were, and are, significant social and economic differences between North and South. Yet differences between social and economic groups within the South were often more marked than were differences between those of the sections. Some of the Southern groups had much in common with similar groups, all over the Union. For instance, there was much common ground between the small farmers of the South and the small farmers of the West, between merchants of the North and of the South, and between the professional groups of all sections. The traditional Union nation&lists even found a great area of common ground for the big planters of the South and the industrialists of the North: both represented the major propertied interests of their sections.

A Southern nationalism did develop as the sectional disputes sharpened, but to attribute those disputes and the Civil War itself to the idea that a different nationality, demanding political independence, had developed in the South is difficult to countenance,

II

The romanticists who attempted to stimulate a cultural nationalism in the South were opposed by the Southern Unionists. These Unionists, for the most part, were conservative men of property who had not been carried along in the tide of romantic nationalism with their fellow Southerners for a number of reasons. First, and foremost, they feared that ideas of Southern nationalism could lead only to Civil War in which property would be one of the major casualties. Secondly, they hoped that slavery and other traditional institutions could be pro-

ected by concerted action on the part of the Northern and Southern conservatives. Thirdly, they had an almost religious reverence for law, order, and the sanctity of property rights. Those concepts were best protected by the Union, so they felt. Fourthly, they were usually Whigs in politics and looked to conservative nationalists such as John Marshall, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster for their inspiration. The Southern nationalists were usually Democrats in politics and took as their guideposts those writings of Thomas Jefferson which fitted their purposes. Finally, like conservatives the world over in every age, they were just downright opposed to any major change in the established order and way of doing things.

This has outlined in a general way the major characteristics of romantic Southern nationalism and traditional Union nationalism, and leads to a consideration in more detail of the writings of the outstanding traditional nationalists in Florida. Traditional nationalism usually holds that violent revolutions are unjustified and anti-patriotic, but it condones revolutions which reestablish traditional institutions. Reforms may be necessary, it concedes, but they must come gradually and as a national undertaking. The words of Thomas Brown which we have already quoted plainly bear out that thesis.

Brown further emphasized that point when a convention of Southern states was called at Nashville in 1850 to devise a remedy for *sectional* controversies. He feared that it would turn into a secession convention and flatly declared, "I consider such a convention as revolutionary in its tendency," and he added, "I most solemnly protest against it. The time has not arrived for such measures, and I pray God such a time may never arrive."⁸

Brown agreed that action should be taken if the traditional organization of the federal Union were to be shattered by some act such as the repeal of the fugitive slave law. If this led to a revolution it would be justifiable since

8. *Florida Republican*, Mar. 7, 1850.

it would be aimed at restoring the traditional order. When discussing this matter before the legislature, Brown said,

It is with inexpressible pain that the General Assembly and the Executive must contemplate any contingency imperilling the stability of a government which has, in general, so well and so wisely discharged its great functions, and which, like some proud monument tottering to its fall, seems to inspire a deeper sense of grandeur at the apparent threatening of a catastrophe; and while it menaces our safety, to call forth a more poignant sympathy and vivid recollection of the many grateful and hallowed associations which cluster around it.⁹

Columbus Drew, editor of the *Florida Republican* of Jacksonville, also spoke out strongly against revolution. Like Brown, he opposed the Nashville convention. Fearing that it might lead to disunion, he commented.: "If such were the deadly purpose of the conclave, we would rather see it strangled in its birth than lend it countenance."¹⁰ Instead, he suggested, "Let the South resort to legal means to preserve its rights . . . Let us 'fling away' the idea of disunion. Let us not belie the principle for which our forefathers bled—that Americans are capable of self government."¹¹

The most violent critic of violent action was aging Richard Keith Call. Call, in his youth, had been a disciple of Andrew Jackson and a Democrat. As he grew older, he disavowed equalitarian democracy and aligned himself with all of the conservative, anti-secession parties: the Whigs, the Know-Nothings, and the Constitutional Unionists. In the decade before the Civil War preservation of the Union became the main theme of his life.

Unlike Brown and most traditionalists, Call seems to have believed that there was hardly any justification for revolution. In reference to the French Revolution of 1789

9. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1850.

10. *Florida Republican*, Jan. 24, 1850.

11. *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1850.

-an event somewhat before Call's time-he declared that it had been "mad . . . violating all law human and divine . . . shaking the foundations of all moral, social, and religious systems."¹²

During the controversy involving the nullification of certain federal laws by the state of South Carolina, Call had shown little sympathy for the South Carolinians and had congratulated Jackson on his disposition of the problem. Throughout the following thirty years he was a staunch Union nationalist and was outspoken in his condemnation of secession. When he was informed of the signing of the Florida secession ordinance in 1861 he bitterly replied, "You have opened the gates of Hell, from which shall flow the curses of the damned, which shall sink you to perdition."¹³

In 1861 Call sorrowfully wrote to a friend in Philadelphia,

The bonds of the American Union, the work of Washington, of Franklin, of Madison, and other great sages and statesmen of a glorious age, have been rent and snapped like cobwebs; and the greatest fabric of human government . . . has been destroyed in a few months—madly and rashly destroyed, without reflection.¹⁴

A second major feature of traditionalism was its anti-democratic flavor. It was basically paternal and aristocratic-another reason for its popularity with the slave holders of considerable wealth and property. Call emphatically upheld the aristocratic theory of government saying that "The theory of universal human freedom is the mad offspring of delusion and passion, and not the result of enlightened reason."¹⁵ Columbus Drew upheld the aristocratic idea in his editorial columns. When a.

12. Address of *Past @?-and Master R. I. Call*, June 24, 1859 (Tallahassee : *Floridian* and *Journal*, 1859).

13. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes* (typescript copy in Library of Florida History, University of Florida).

14. R. K. Call to J. S. Littell, Feb. 12, 1861 (pamphlet form in Florida Historical Society Library).

15. *Idem*.

proposal was voiced in 1850 that the people of the District of Columbia be allowed to decide whether or not slavery should be abolished in that district, Drew sarcastically wrote,

Who are the "people" of the District of Columbia, and what right have they, as a community, to decree the disposition of the property of any of its members? Probably not one-twentieth of them are slave-owners, and by the terms of the resolution they would be forced to submit, through sheer weakness, to the will of nineteen-twentieths of the non-slaveholders.¹⁶

It seems natural that slave owners, as minority property holders, would oppose democracy when applied to property rights.

A third noteworthy feature of traditional nationalism is respect and affection for traditional institutions. These institutions are viewed as having grown or evolved, and as being expressive of the genius of a nationality. One supporter of the Whig party in 1850 looked upon that party, somewhat incorrectly, as being one of those traditional American institutions. In a letter which Columbus Drew placed prominently in his editorial columns the writer said,

The name of *Whig*, so strongly suggestive of *American Nationality*, is endeared by too many hallowed recollections and associations for us . . . to cast it lightly or contemptuously aside . . . Received at the baptismal font of the Revolution, emblazoned on the aegis sustained by American troops at Yorktown, and bourne with affectionate pride by those who planned the Constitution and the Union, we have inherited and cherished the name of *Whig* as the token that designates the American patriot . . .¹⁷

The Constitution was regarded by Unionists as one of those traditional institutions. Governor Brown referred

36. Florida *Republican*, Feb. 14, 1850.

17. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1850.

to it as that "compendium of human wisdom" and proclaimed, "The Constitution, that great charter of our rights, is sufficiently explicit to need even no formal resolutions to elucidate it."¹⁸ Brown further reasoned that since institutions embody the national wisdom, they must eventually reflect popular opinion and he concluded, "this fact, considered in connection with the manifestations of Northern sentiment upon their obligations under the federal compact, justifies a serious concern for the perpetuity of the Union."¹⁹

Using this concept of the Constitution as a national institution, many Southern traditionalists soon envisioned slavery as a national institution. That it was a national institution is precisely what Richard Keith Call believed. He said that slavery should be viewed

. . . not as an abstract question of right or wrong, not as a blessing or a curse, but as an existing reality, for good or evil, thrown upon us by inheritance from a past generation and another Government, and for which no man of the present day is in any manner the least responsible. It should be considered as it is, an institution interwoven and inseparably connected with our social and political *system*, and as a domestic institution of the States, and a *national institution, created by the American people and protected by the Constitution of the United States*. It should be considered as an institution which *cannot* Be *disturbed* in its *present* political relation to some of the States of the [Union] . . . *without great detriment* to all, and without, perhaps, *destruction* to some one of the parties to *this* relation, It should be considered as an institution which *could not now be abolished, even with the consent of all, without fatal consequences to some of the parties holding relations to it*²⁰

18. Florida Senate Journal, 1850.

29. *Idem*.

20. R. K. Call to J. S. Littell, Feb. 12, 1861.

Where can we find respect for established institutions which exceeds that expressed by Call for the institution of slavery.

In Call's discourse upon slavery we also see reflected the fourth great tenet of traditional nationalism. That, is, that the state is a partnership between living, past, and future generations; hence it should be permanent, since its ends cannot be accomplished by any one generation. In one manner or another, every prominent Florida Unionist upheld this fundamental of traditional nationalism. Thomas Brown expressed the debt to the past when he caused to be engraved upon Florida's stone in the Washington monument the following inscription: "Florida sees in his counsels safety-in his life an example-in his memory a perpetual bond of Union." Brown further elucidated upon this theme in his inaugural address when he declared,

And now is the period when the Farewell Address of Washington ought to be published by every patriot editor, and caused to be read in the family of every patriot father. It comes to us now, as the warning voice of the Father of his country, from the spirit land.²¹

Brown best expressed this partnership idea when he wrote to Joseph Clisby, editor of the Tallahassee *Sentinel*, in regard to the crisis of 1850,

... may North meet South and South meet North and say "let there be no further strife between us—let that mantle of our fathers fall upon us, and let us, all unite in one glorious, fraternal, and patriotic effort to transmit unimpaired to our children, those blessings which have come down to us from a common ancestry."²²

Columbus Drew expressed similar sentiments in his editorial columns when he said that the people "love the

21. Florida *Senate Journal*, 1850.

22. Florida *Sentinel*, (Tallahassee, Fla. 3 April 2, 1850.

Union for themselves, for the ancient haloes which encircle it, and for the benefits it will confer, despite gloomy prophecy, upon our posterity.'"²³

Thus we see by specific examples that the Unionists of Florida were, in so far as their theory is concerned, traditional nationalists as surely as were Edmund Burke, Vicomte de Bonald, or Friederich von Schlegel. That they were consciously disciples of these European traditionalists, we do not contend. Very probably they assumed that their defense of the federal Union was original political reasoning. What they did was to express opposition to a change in the *status quo* in terms usually employed by conservative interests. These terms—disgust with violent revolution, distrust of democracy, admiration for established practices and institutions, and an evaluation of the established system as a partnership of past, present, and future—were best formulated by Edmund Burke in the 18th century into a doctrine which political theorists call traditional nationalism.

After the dissolution of the Union, most of the Florida Unionists gave at least their nominal loyalty to the Confederacy. In this respect, too, were they justifiably following the precepts of traditional nationalism; for the, European formulators of that doctrine all held that regionalism was traditional and thus national, and that the nation should respect and foster it. Governor Brown, in his inaugural address, expressed this unusual concept of loyalty to a region as well as a nation when he said, "There is no public officer who will defend the sovereignty of the States, the rights of the South, and the compromises of the Constitution, with more firmness and devotion than I will. I would say to all who would be disposed to violate those sacred rights, 'thus far shalt thou go and no farther.'"

Call expressed this dual loyalty as early as 1833 when he had declared, "I am opposed to the doctrine of nullification." He stated, "But while I sincerely express my devotion to the principle of state rights, as defined by the

23. *Florida Republican*, Feb. 21, 1850.

Constitution, I confess I am nevertheless devoted in my attachments to the Union. I consider its preservation as the last hope of happiness and prosperity for a great and gallant people.”²⁴ When war finally came Call found himself severely criticised for the statements which now appeared to many people to be treason to the South. At the age of seventy he lashed out at those persons with all the invective at his command. In one letter he bitterly wrote that he who “questions my fidelity to the South [is] a fool, or a wilfully malicious lying scoundrel.”²⁵ He promised to give prompt “satisfaction” to any who might question his motives.

The Civil War effectively stopped the efforts of the Florida Unionists to prevent violent disunion. General Call died a broken hearted old man before the war ended.. Governor Brown went into retirement and died in 1867. Columbus Drew accepted a minor post in the Confederate government and sank into obscurity. George T. Ward, whom we merely mentioned, died on the field of battle fighting for his State which he had tried, even in the secession convention, to keep in the Union.

24. *Floridian*, (Tallahassee, Fla.) April 17, 1833.

25. R. K. Call to T. J. Perkins, Mar. 19, 1862 (Call collection, Florida Historical Society Library).

THE JOINT OPERATIONS OF THE FEDERAL
ARMY AND NAVY NEAR ST. MARKS,
FLORIDA, MARCH 1865

by MARK F. BOYD

*Historian, Florida State Board of Parks and Historic
Memorials*

(I), THE BATTLE OF NATURAL BRIDGE

The elation felt by Floridians in 1864: over the collapse of General Seymour's campaign at Olustee had probably largely subsided, due to cumulating privations, before the ominous events transpired upon which that year closed. General Sherman had completed his devastating march from Atlanta to Savannah, and he had received the surrender of the latter city on December 21. This blow was followed in quick succession in 1865 by the capture of Fort Fisher on January 15, and the surrender of Wilmington itself on February -22, while Charleston had been previously evacuated on February 17.

In the absence of specific information as to the motives by which he was prompted, it may be that Brigadier General John Newton, Commanding the District of Key West and Tortugas, came to believe that the morale of military and civilian Floridians, sufficiently depressed by these signal Federal successes, would readily yield to an aggressive operation.

Be that as it may, there had been some intensification in minor operations along the west coast of Florida. On February 21 the Federal garrison at Fort Myers was unsuccessfully attacked by a force of 275 men of the Confederate "Cow Cavalry", under Major William Footman. Advice of the attack was brought to Key West the same night by the steamer *Alliance* which had left before the outcome of the engagement was known. In July of the previous year, Acting Master Edmund C. Weeks of the Navy had sought and secured a transfer to the Army, was commissioned as major and assigned to the Second

The *Quarterly* is grateful to the Florida State Board of Parks and Historic Memorials for assistance in the cost of publication of this article.

Regiment, Florida 'Cavalry (Federal), and early in 1865 was stationed at Cedar Keys. On February 9 he set out on a raid with a force of 250 men (which apparently included some at least of the Taylor County Union sympathizers) along the east side of the Suwannee River, with the supposed objective of advancing via Newnansville to the railroad bridge over the river. On learning of this advance, Major General Sam Jones, Confederate States Army, who had assumed command of the Military District of Florida on the 2nd, sent a party of the reserves and Second Cavalry under Brigadier General Miller to Newnansville to oppose him, and directed Captain J. Dickson, who had just completed a successful raid to the east of the St. Johns River, to get in Weeks' rear. Ascertaining that opposition was forming, Weeks did not advance as far as Newnansville, but fell back to Station 4 on the Florida Railroad near Cedar Keys. Dickson, responding with characteristic alacrity to this threat, attacked Weeks at this point on the 13th. After an engagement lasting several hours, Weeks, upon learning of the approach of General Miller, withdrew to Cedar Keys. The news of this action was also brought to Key West by the *Alliance*,

On receipt of this news, General Newton immediately sought cooperation from Acting Rear Admiral C. R. Stribling, Commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, to provide transports for the dispatch of reinforcements. The steamer *Honduras* was immediately sent to Punta Rassa to protect the Federal depot there, and on the following day (22nd), the 99th U. S. Colored Infantry (Lieut. Col. Pearsall) embarked on the steamer *Magnolia* for Punta Rassa, but before her departure the *Honduras* returned with news of the withdrawal of the "Cow Cavalry" from before Fort Myers. The *Honduras* was immediately readied to transport further troops on the following day.

At a conference of the two commanders held on the same day, an elastic plan of operations was agreed upon. The troops were to be landed either at Tampa or Cedar

Keys in order to cut off the Confederate force believed to have been sent to the lower peninsula, or else they would proceed to the neighborhood of St. Marks for a raid or sudden expedition with naval cooperation. Admiral Stribling sent orders to Lieutenant Commander William Gibson, senior officer on the blockade of St. George Sound, to concentrate at St. Marks all vessels which could be spared from the blockade between St. George and Tampa.

On the 23rd, General Newton moved his headquarters aboard the *Honduras*, and embarked three companies (A, B, and K) of the Second U. S. Colored Infantry on the same vessel, destined for Punta Rassa.

On the following day the *Honduras* met the *Magnolia* at Punta Rassa. The emergency having passed, none of the troops on either vessel were disembarked at that point, and both sailed for Cedar Keys, which may have been reached some time on the 26th.

Word was sent to recall Major Weeks, who returned to Cedar Keys on the following day. Probably on the advice of Weeks, General Newton concluded that no chance presented itself to intercept the Confederate forces in the lower peninsula, and decided to follow the alternate plan of operation.

Consequently on noon of Monday the 27th, most of Weeks' force was embarked on the *Magnolia*, leaving only a detail sufficient to guard the stores at Cedar Keys. Those embarking included Companies C, D and E, Second Florida Cavalry (Union) (dismounted), and Companies E, G and H, Second U. S. Colored Infantry. General Newton transferred his headquarters to the *Alliance*, which had arrived from Key West.

During the night the transports left Cedar Keys for the rendezvous with the naval force off Ocklocknee buoy, near St. Marks bar, thirteen miles from land. This point was reached at daylight the next morning (28th) in a dense fog. The naval force assembled during March 1st and 2nd, the fog meanwhile continuing. This, probably the largest fleet ever to have assembled in Apalachee

Bay, was a motley group. In addition to the normal complement of vessels at this station, the U.S.S. *Stars and Stripes*, which except for relief periods had been stationed in this bay since early in 1863, the U.S.S. *Isonomia*, which cruised to the southward as far as the Suwannee River, and the U. S. Schooner *O. H. Lee*, and the transports in which Newton's force arrived, the fleet wheu assembled included the U. S. Steamers *Mahaska*, *Fort Henry* (a New York ferry boat), *Spirea*, *Hibiscus*, and *Brittania*, together with the later arrivals, the *Proteus*, *Iuka*, and *Hendrick Hudson*, and the schooners *Matthew Vassar*, and *Two Sisters*, a total of thirteen steam and three sailing vessels. Lieutenant Commander Gibson of the U.S.S. *Mabaska*, initially the ranking naval officer, was displaced upon the late arrival of his senior, Commander R. W. Shufeldt of the U.S.S. *Proteus*, who subsequently exercised command of the naval force.

Prior to the arrival of Shufeldt, the following plans were developed at a joint staff conference:

- 1) To land a party of seamen and of the Second Florida Cavalry on the night of the 3rd to take possession of the bridge over the East River, and if possible capture the pickets there ;

- 2) To land the troops on the same night in readiness to start at daylight on the 4th;

- 3) The land expedition was to march to Newport, destroy the public establishments there, cross the River St. Marks, take St. Marks in rear or strike the railroad between St. Marks and Tallahassee, attacking isolated bodies of the enemy to prevent a concentration and destroying and capturing such property as might be useful to the enemy;

- 4) In order to effect these objects, parties were to be landed to destroy the railroad and other bridges over the Ocklocknee River, the trestle or bridge over the Aucilla River, and to break up the railroad between St. Marks and Tallahassee ; and

- 5) The naval force was to endeavor to silence the batteries at St. Marks and capture them, to land a force of

500 to 600 seamen at Port Leon to cover the land expedition, to prevent the enemy crossing in its rear between St. Marks and Newport, and to threaten St. Marks. No doubt was entertained that this landing at Port Leon could be effected.

Major Weeks related in a report written on the 9th, that on Thursday, March 2nd, six men under William Strickland were landed at the mouth of the Aucilla River, with orders to burn the railroad bridge at the head of that stream. Weeks did not succeed in landing another party at the Little Aucilla (*sic*) for the purpose of cutting the railroad in the rear of St. Marks, owing to the vigilance of pickets stationed there. However, a third party, under a Mr. Green, citizen, was landed near Shell Point, with orders to proceed to the Ocklocknee railroad bridge and burn it.

The fog having risen, the whole fleet put to sea on the 3rd, sailing until after dark in order to deceive the Confederates, should they have discovered the vessels. It returned to the bar after dark, which the pilot was unable to cross, and a heavy gale arising, the vessels were obliged to anchor. However at 7 p. m. on the 3rd, a large party under Major Weeks, consisting of 60 men of the Second Florida Cavalry left the *Magnolia* in small boats, but owing to the gale, did not effect a landing until midnight. A detachment of 30 seamen under Acting Ensign Whitman of the schooner *O. H. Lee* was assigned to operate under Weeks. These were sent up East River with orders to proceed to the bridge, about four miles from the light-house, capture the pickets stationed there, and hold the bridge until Weeks' arrival. Owing to his delayed landing, Weeks did not arrive there until 4 a. m. on the 4th. The pickets had fled, leaving their arms and one horse. At sunrise Weeks was attacked by a Confederate cavalry force of about 60 men, which were repulsed with some loss to the attackers. He sent a mounted officer (probably on the captured horse) to the light-house to see whether the troops had landed, with the intention of holding the bridge if reinforcements were available. Upon

being informed that the vessels were aground and no troops landed, he withdrew to the light-house under attack by skirmishers.,

On the morning of the 4th, part at least of the fleet got under way, heading for the light-house, the *Spirea* leading. This vessel soon ran hard and fast aground, a situation in which she was soon joined by the transport *Honduras*. No mention was made of the *Magnolia* from which Weeks disembarked, but she was likely afloat in the vicinity. Other vessels of the fleet, the *Hibiscus*, *Proteus* and *Iuka* arrived, the last anchoring outside. Owing to the delays occasioned by fog and grounding, the debarkation of the troops was not completed until 4 p. m. of the 4th. They were moved inland about two and one-half miles to a spot of elevated ground suitable for an encampment, there to await the landing of the artillery, ammunition and ambulances, which was effected about 8 a. m. on the 5th. The site of the encampment is probably the low knoll on which the offices of the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge are situated.

The artillery consisted of two navy boat howitzers disembarked from the fleet, to which was later added the light 12-pounder captured at East River in the advance. All were drawn by hand the whole distance. The howitzers were served by seamen. The only horses on the expedition are said to have been those used by General Newton and his staff.

It is impossible to synthesize in a single narrative the events of the succeeding three days. We are obliged to reconstruct two accounts describing separately the events as viewed from the Federal and Confederate standpoints. While in general agreement, they often disagree on detail, or some detail may be presented which is, for natural reasons, omitted from the other. Newton's narratives attempt to gloss over his reverse, in general magnifying his slight accomplishments, and criticising his naval collaborators. The Confederate narratives are meager in detail but highly jubilant over their success.

Federal Account of the Battle

On the morning of the 5th General Newton's command advanced on the road leading to the East River bridge, from which they found the planking removed, with opposition at that point from the battalion of Fifth Florida Cavalry commanded by Lieut.-Col. George W. Scott, with two pieces of artillery. Companies G and H of the Second Colored Infantry were formed in a skirmish line, charged over the open ground to the bridge, and opened a rapid fire on their opponents, who withdrew. The skirmishers filed over the bridge, capturing the 12-pounder previously mentioned, and turned it against their enemy. General Sam Jones declared that capture was a consequence of the unmanageability of the horses, which evidently made off with the limber and caisson.

The bridge was promptly repaired by the Ninety-ninth Colored Infantry, and the advance upon Newport continued, being scarcely impeded by a few cavalry pickets. A heavy smoke seen arising from the direction of Newport was considered to arise from the burning of the bridge over the St. Marks River at that point. The battalion of the Second Florida Cavalry (Federal), under Major Weeks was pushed on in advance to save the bridge. Weeks arrived there at 11 a. m. on Sunday the 5th, and found the bridge burning, and in an effort to save it, charged the east bridge-head, but was checked by heavy Confederate fire from entrenchments on the west side. The bridge was burned at one end and cut off at the other, while the approach was under complete command of the Confederate musketry. Weeks set the two howitzers at his disposal so that one played directly across the bridge, the other being set to the right so as to enfilade the Confederate pits, but did not succeed in driving his opponents out. Various industrial buildings at Newport had been set afire by the Confederates.

Upon Newton's arrival at Newport, it was concluded that passage of the St. Marks River at that point, either by way of the bridge or by fording was impossible, and a decision was made to attempt a passage at the so-

called Natural Bridge, which according to the guides, was four or five miles above.

The Natural Bridge of the St. Marks River is a swampy area near the southern boundary of Leon County, where the river passes through a series of underground passages between sinks and rises for a distance of perhaps half a mile. This produces an intricate series of disconnected short channels which, beginning at a rise, flow above ground for a short distance to disappear underground at a sink. The last rise is in the basin, from whence the river flows above ground to its confluence with the Wakulla. About one-half mile below the basin, the river is traversed and dammed by a ledge of lime rock. Two or three decades before these events other natural obstructions below this point had been removed at government expense to afford barge navigation of the channel to a site just below this ledge, once known as Rockhaven.

With the decision of Newton to attempt to flank the Confederate position at Newport, Major Weeks' detachment of the Second Florida Cavalry (Federal) was ordered to remain at Newport and prevent Confederate passage of the bridge. He posted sharpshooters along the river bank who were engaged most of the day and night. At 2 p. m. on Monday, the 6th, the Confederates opened fire with a piece of artillery on the pickets in the rear of Weeks' position, probably marking the arrival of Lieut. Whitehead's section. They kept up a brisk fire of artillery and musketry for four hours. The Confederates endeavored to get hold of the bridge, first to repair it, later to cross it, in which efforts they were repulsed.

In accordance with his decision, Newton's force made a night march from Newport to Natural Bridge, over an old and unfrequented road, the distance being found to be some miles longer than anticipated. He was disappointed in the hope that his appearance there would be unexpected.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 6th of March, Major Lincoln with Companies B and G of the Second Colored Infantry, attempted passage of the Nat-

ural Bridge. He drove back the Confederate pickets, but soon found his further progress checked by a superior force behind entrenchments, which took full advantage of the sloughs, ponds, marshes and thickets as auxiliary defenses on the front and flanks. Another spot, about a mile below the Natural Bridge, probably where the ledge of lime rock previously mentioned exists, was suggested as suitable for crossing, but on examination was found to be impracticable, and to be guarded as well. It having been reported by an officer on picket that the Confederate position could be flanked, Newton decided to feel out the enemy and attempt to force a passage. Accordingly Colonel Townsend, with Companies A, B, and H, Second Color&d Infantry was sent to turn the enemy's right flank if possible, while Major Lincoln with Companies E, G, and K of the same regiment, and Lieut. Col. Pearsall (with the Ninety-ninth Colored Infantry) were to render support. As Townsend's force advanced, the Confederates withdrew and abandoned their breastwork, but almost at the foot of the works a wide, deep slough was encountered, which the troops could not pass. Townsend consequently returned. Newton now concluded that it had been demonstrated that the enemy's position was too strong to be carried, and finding that his force occupied 'a low salient, exposed to cross fire, he withdrew to a previously selected position in open pine-barrens, about 300 yards distant, which was effected in perfect order without molestation. The Confederates, apparently assuming that Newton's force was in full retreat, emerged from concealment in heavy columns of regular troops with artillery but without skirmishers, and were received with a perfect line of infantry supported by artillery. The Confederates, according to Newton, made two desperate charges, but were repulsed with heavy loss, leaving him master of the field. Aside from harassment by a small force of cavalry on the return march, the enemy was not seen again. After waiting an hour, and there being no indications of the presence of the enemy, the return march to the light-house was begun, which was reached at 4 a. m. on the 7th.

While Newton was inland, Commander R. W. Shufeldt arrived, and being senior to Lieut. Commander Gibson, the latter yielded command of the naval force. In a later report, General Newton comments adversely on the relief of Gibson, with whom he had a complete understanding, which he considered sufficient to account for the fatal delay or inactivity of the naval force at the critical moment, and stated that had no change been made in the naval commanders he could not have failed to accomplish his most sanguine expectations. He further stated that the expedition returned because the navy was unable to cooperate in any manner, the ammunition was nearly expended, and because communications would have been cut in less than eight hours because of failure to land a force of seamen at Port Leon.

The attempt of the naval force to ascend the St. Marks River was apparently begun on the 4th, while landing of the troops was in progress. After great efforts the *Honduras*, *Fort Henry*, *Brittanica* and *Hibiscus*, in the order named, ascended the river, the former almost as far as Big Bayou on the east shore, within a mile and a half of Port Leon. The *Stars and Stripes* got aground just below the *Hibiscus*, the Mahaska was stuck near the light-house in Spanish Hole, while the *Spirea* remained aground outside. Commander Shufeldt continued in his efforts to get the vessels up the river to attack the fort, until the news was received on the 6th that the army was falling back. Acting Ensign Whitman was again sent with 40 seamen to the East River bridge, to hold it until the passage of the army, which he did and later burned it. A conference between Commander Shufeldt and General Newton was held on the 7th, after which the ships in the river were ordered to drop back to an anchorage off the light-house.

Although General Newton claimed that the enemy received two weeks notice of the expedition by a refugee known to have left one of the blockading vessels, this allegation, in view of the nebulous character of the expressed plans prior to departure of the expedition from Key West, appears unsubstantiable. The appearance of

the transports at Cedar Keys and the departure of the dismounted Second Florida Cavalry (Federal) on the vessels may have been known, and have intensified alertness of the Confederate authorities; but it is likely that a report from the skirmishers who followed Weeks back to the light-house, to then discover the presence of the fleet, probably afforded the first intimation that an attack was imminent.

Confederate Account of the Battle

According to the *Floridian* and *Journal* of Tallahassee, as copied in the *Florida Union*, news of the landing of the Federals at St. Marks light-house reached Tallahassee at 9 o'clock Saturday night (4th).

"The alarm was given and the note of preparation sounded throughout the whole city and county, and was extended to the other counties. The militia was ordered out, and an unanimous and invincible response was made to the call. Every man and boy capable of bearing arms was at his post. Never, since the first commencement of the war, have the people exhibited a greater spirit. One company of cavalry marched nearly sixty miles in twenty-four hours. Others marched on foot, thirty and forty miles to overtake their companies who had gone ahead, and in a very short time a sufficient force was on the way to the scene of action to meet any force the enemy had there."

Newton was to find that he was poking a nest of hornets.

In view of the scanty and incomplete muster records of the Confederate forces of Florida which have survived, and the meager references elsewhere to the units which responded to this emergency, it is impossible at this time to list them in any degree of completeness. Among them, however, may be enumerated the following:

1. Battalion Fifth Florida Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. George w. Scott:
 - Company C, Captain D. W. Gwynn
 - “ F, “ Dozier
 - “ G, “ W. H. Milton (Marianna)
2. Second Florida Cavalry, Colonel Caraway Smith:
 - Company A, Captain Clinton Thigpen
 - “ I, “ S. G. Parramore
 - “ K, “ Jesse A. Jones
3. Gamble's Battery:
 - (Kilcrease's Company), Captain Patrick Houston
4. Dunham's Light Artillery (Milton Artillery) :
 - Captain Henry F. Abell
 - “ Jos. L. Dunham'
5. Company of Cadets, West Florida Seminary:
 - Captain V. M. Johnston
 - Active Captain D. W. Gwynn"
6. First Florida Reserves, Colonel J. Jacqueline Daniel:
 - Company A, Captain Isaac B. Nichols
 - “ B, “ J. B. Spencer
 - “ c, “ W. W. Poe
 - “ E, “ W. D. Thurberville
 - “ F, “ W. A. Barwick
 - “ G, “ Hawkins
 - “ I, “ Green B. Hodges

It has not been possible to determine the unit designations of the following organizations, *viz.*:

1. Lieutenant Whitehead's Section Artillery (Gadsden County)
2. Gadsden Grays
3. Colonel Samuel Love's militia

It is suspected that all of these were from Gadsden County, and that the following companies belonged to one or the other:

Captain Du Pont's Company (men over 50) Gadsden Grays'

“ Scott's “
 “ Smith's “
 “ Johnston's “ (probably the V. M. Johnston above) (placed on detail at Tallahassee)

*From battlefield monument

It appears from General Newton's reports that he believed that while General Sam Jones was mobilizing the available forces in Middle Florida he made an appeal to Governor Brown of Georgia for aid, as Newton speaks of the arrival of 1000 troops from Georgia. Jones did request that rolling stock of the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad be run over to the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad via the newly reopened Lawton-Live Oak connection. It is more likely that Newton's information really referred to the arrival of the Second Florida Cavalry which, dismounted, arrived opportunely on the field at Natural Bridge, and probably determined the outcome. They probably arrived from the east by train. The attempted firing of the Aucilla trestle appears to have been discovered by a troop train.

Early on the 5th, Brigadier General William Miller went to Newport with a company of cadets from the West Florida Seminary and a small body of militia. This small force was steadily strengthened throughout the day. Fortunately on the night of the 4th and morning of the 5th, in anticipation that an invading force might attempt crossing on the bridge which there spanned the river, a breastwork commanding the bridge had been thrown up (13).

With Newton's advance, Scott fell back with his detachment of the battalion of the Fifth Florida Cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, to the East River bridge, from which he removed the planking, unlimbered his guns and prepared to offer some resistance. This stand could not long be maintained, as it was not desired to give the Federals occasion to discover a ford some distance above the bridge. Here one of the cannon was lost as already related. Four Federal dead were later found at this point. Scott retreated to Newport, and after crossing the bridge, damaged it sufficiently by fire to render it impassable. Buildings at Newport, including a foundry, as well as saw and grist mills, were set ablaze in order not to obstruct the line of fire. The reception General Miller accorded Weeks at this point has already been described, and lead

General Newton to conclude that passage of the river at that point was impracticable. General Sam Jones went to Newport on the night of the 5th. General Miller, anticipating that General Newton would make a night movement toward Natural Bridge, sent Lieut.-Col. Scott with his cavalry to await them there.

During the night the only semblance of panic which arose was checked by prompt action of General Miller, who, on learning that the officer in charge of the small force left at the fort in St. Marks, probably alarmed by the advance of the fleet up the river, was preparing to blow up the magazine, burn the gun-boat *Spray*, and put fire to some 600 bales of cotton at the port, set off at once for St. Marks, fortunately arriving before these designs were consummated. His orders put an end to all thought of surrender at that place. He returned to Newport before dawn, and proceeded to Natural Bridge, which he reached an hour after sunrise.

Reinforcements continued to move throughout the night on the railroad, which General Jones ordered to detrain at the turpentine-still (probably Woodville rather than Wakulla station), a point closer to Natural Bridge than Newport. The plank road as well was thronged. The small force at Newport was ordered up also, being later replaced there by Lieut. Whitehead's section of artillery. This hastily assembled force of reserves, a few cavalymen, and a section of artillery arrived at Natural Bridge a short time before four o'clock in the morning of the 6th. The entrenchment at that point had been thrown up earlier, in anticipation of such an emergency, just as that at Newport is reported to have been (13).

On arrival the troops were placed so as to extend the line, which originally was across the road, just in front of the bridge, so that the right and left flanks finally rested on the river below and above. On the left was Dunham's battery and the Gadsden Grays, with Colonel Love's militia in reserve near the left center. The West Florida Seminary cadets occupied the center, in front of the bridge. To the right was Scott's battalion of the Fifth

Florida Cavalry. Captain Houston's battery was to the left of the right center, to the right of which was stationed Colonel Daniel's regiment of reserves. The line thus formed a crescent, the concavity toward the bridge, which permitted a converging fire at the point where the Federal forces meant to cross.

Hardly had the line at Natural Bridge been formed before skirmishing began at 4 a. m., which continued until 10 or 11 o'clock, during which period two attacks were repulsed. The fighting intensified subsequently, probably at the time of Townsend's advance, and continued heavy for three or four hours. Although each of the three Federal attempts to cross the bridge were made with marked spirit, they were repulsed each time with considerable loss. According to General Jones, after the two initial attacks the enemy formed under a cover of a thick hammock and kept up an obstinate fight at intervals for ten or twelve hours.

Early in the afternoon Colonel Caraway Smith arrived with a battalion of the Second Florida Cavalry dismounted, which was placed so as to extend the line further down the west bank of the river. After a brisk fire from the four pieces of Confederate artillery, slackening of the Federal fire indicated their withdrawal. Thereupon Captain H. K. Simmons of the Second Florida Cavalry was ordered to penetrate the hammock, and ascertain the position of the Federal forces. Observing felled trees and a breastwork, he, in disregard of caution, ordered a charge and was killed on the breastwork. This ended the fight.

The Federal retreat was covered by felling timber across the road, which had to be cleared before the Confederate cavalry could pass. Although pursuit was continued for 12 miles, removal of these obstacles so delayed the pursuers that Newton managed to withdraw without a rear guard action, and the Confederates returned to Newport.

When it was ascertained that the Federal force had reembarked and withdrawn, the Confederate forces took

up their line of march for Tallahassee on Thursday the 9th. On arrival in the capital city, they were addressed by Governor Milton in the hall of the House of Representatives, and in complimentary orders by General Sam Jones, were allowed to retain their arms and equipment.

According to General Jones, the Federal force landed at the light-house was estimated at between 1500 and 2000 men. General Newton believed that he was opposed at Natural Bridge by a force likewise consisting of from 1500 to 2000 men. He stated that according to rumor, the Confederates were reinforced about noon by 1000 veterans from Georgia. While no specific confirmation on this point has been encountered, it is surmised that if these may have actually arrived in Tallahassee, they were detained there to man the local fortifications. It appears more likely that the report which came to his ears of Confederate reinforcements arriving about noon, related to the arrival of Colonel Caraway Smith's men of the Second Florida Cavalry, who were indeed veterans. Newton also stated that he originally calculated on an available Confederate force of from 600 to 700 men, whose numbers through impressment might be increased to 1000. That the Confederate position at Natural Bridge was well selected, is confirmed by Newton, who stated that 200 resolute men, aided by artillery, could hold it against five times their number.

General Newton declared that his expedition started from the light-house with 893 men, but detachments at Newport and at outposts up and down the river, together with losses in action, had reduced his force to 500 when the imagined Georgia reinforcements to the Confederates arrived. All Federal troops at Natural Bridge were black, of the Second and Ninety-ninth U. S. Colored Infantry (the last described by the Confederate newspaper as the 19th Louisiana), with white officers.

It is doubtful if General Sam Jones had an accurate knowledge of the number of men who rallied to his call. Any estimate made at this date can only be a very rough approximation, based on the identifiable units in *Soldiers*

of Florida (10). From this the following data have been secured :

unit	CO.	Possible Strength	Wounded	Killed	Notes
5th B.	C	97	1		Complete roster
	D	12			" "
	F	50		Treplett	" "
	G	50	1	Simmons*	Mustered out, Apr.-May? '65
Gamble		40	1		" " " " "
Dunham	Abell	12	2		" " " " "
	Dunham	"1			" " " " "
Cadets					So data
1st Res.	A	17			As musterred out
	B	22	1		" " "
	C	11	1		" "
	E	13	1	Grubbs	" " "
	F	9	2		" " "
	G	7	1		" "
	I	12	1		" " "
2nd Cav.	A	30	3		" " "
	I	109	6		" " "
	K	93	2	*	" " "
Total		595	23	3	

**Soldiers of Florida* lists 2 men named Henry K. Simmons as killed on March 4 (sic). One as Capt. Co. G, 5th Fla. Cav. Batt., the other as Pvt. Co. K., 2nd Fla. Cav. They probably are the same individual, who received a battlefield promotion and transfer.

This does not consider the unidentified units, the Gadsden Grays, Col. Love's militia, or three other companies of Gadsden County militia, all of whom may have comprised one unit. Their combined strength probably did not exceed 100 men. In the absence of data regarding the cadets, their number may be set at 25.

Since the Second Florida Cavalry did not arrive until the later stages of the action, we may subtract their strength of 232 men from the total of 583 given, and add 125 as the approximate strength of the other units, for a total of 476, as an estimate of the strength of General Sam Jones' force for the greater part of the battle. In round numbers there may perhaps have been a total of from 600 to 700 Confederates engaged. What gives plausibility to this figure is the circumstance that all of the reported Confederate casualties, 3 killed and 23 wounded are included in the units for which figures are tabulated. Col. Daniel was wounded by being dashed against a tree

by his horse (14). It appears that the casualty figures relate solely to the action at Natural Bridge. It is not known what losses occurred elsewhere.

It would thus appear that there was actually no great disparity in the number of the contestants involved, and that each side grossly overestimated the number of its opponents.

General Newton reported the following casualties, which probably cover the whole expedition, viz. :

Unit	Killed		Wounded		Missing		Total
	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	Officers	Men	
Staff	1		1				2
2nd Fla. Cav.		1		2		13	16
2nd US Colored		10	6	41		1	58
99th US Colored	1	8	2	37	1	23	72
Total	2	19	9	80	1	37	148

Newton stated that all of his wounded, excepting eight fatally wounded who were left at a house two miles from the field, were brought away. In some respects the data of this table do not check with other information. Lieut. Carrington (143 N.Y.) and Capt. Tracy (2nd U.S. Co., A.A.A.G.) are the staff officers given respectively as killed and wounded. The name of the officer of the Ninety-ninth killed is not given, but Lieut. Col. Pearsall of that regiment was wounded. Of the Second Regiment, Major Lincoln, and Lieutenants Murphy and Seymour subsequently died from wounds, while Col. Townsend was wounded but recovered. The Federal casualties were roughly 16 per cent of their force, or one for every six men. Assuming that the forces engaged were roughly equal in numbers, the Federal casualties were about seven times greater than those of the Confederates.

-A few words may be said about the consequences of the sabotaging raids instigated by Major Weeks. General Newton relates that the party for the Ocklocknee returned without making a serious attempt to reach the bridge. He complained that although the men sent were picked, had good knowledge of the country, and could have, with little risk to themselves, obstructed the railroad for several days, so far as known neither of the bridges was damaged nor the railroad obstructed. Newton however,

(either did not know or would not tell the whole story. The clipping from the *Floridian and Journal* in his hands contained a paragraph to the effect that on Tuesday last (presumably March 7th) it was discovered that an attempt had been made to burn the Aucilla trestle on the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. The damage was slight, insufficient to stop the trains, and the telegraph line was cut at the same point. This was supposed to be the work of deserters and may have been part of the program of the enemy to prevent troops from being brought from the east to take a hand in the late fight. Strickland and one of his companions who were landed at the mouth of the Aucilla River were captured in Federal uniform with the aid of dogs, shortly after discovery of the fire at the railroad bridge. They were brought to Tallahassee, court-martialled, convicted and shot on the 18th (9). Strickland had deserted from the Confederate service and became a leader of those in Taylor County disaffected with the Confederacy (7).

The Quincy paper (4) also relates that two deserters were captured, summarily courtmartialled, convicted and shot on the spot. One surmises that the spot was Newport, and that the men were also from Major Weeks' command.

A great deal of hardship resulted in Wakulla County from the Confederate set conflagration at Newport. The same clipping previously cited relates that the loss of Mr. Dan Ladd's grist mill made corn meal scarce, and that destruction of the work-shops and saw-mill was a great loss to the government, as nothing from either was saved. The bridge was easily repaired, as it had not been burned.

Although General Sam Jones did not, in his report to General Johnston, cite any individual or unit for conspicuous service during the action, the Tallahassee and Quincy papers were generous in their praise, not overlooking any unit.

The reports available do not reveal just when Newton re-embarked his force at the light-house, but it does not appear that he tarried there. His earliest report on his subsequent activities is dated from Key West on the 15th,

the day of his return. He later stated that after the expedition was over, the troops were distributed to the posts at Cedar Keys, Punta Rassa and Key West, that at Fort Myers being broken up.

Despite the whole-hearted spontaneity with which the people of Middle Florida rallied to repel the invasion, the success of their efforts could not change the worsening trend of events in areas beyond their horizon, nor postpone the inevitable. General Lee surrendered on the 9th of April, and General Johnston surrendered on the 26th of the same month. On the 8th of May, Admiral Stribling reported to Secretary of the Navy Welles, that the blockading officer at St. Marks reports that the authorities at Tallahassee are ready to surrender on the terms of Johnston's capitulation, and awaited arrival of officers appointed by General Sherman. A few days later (May 10), Brigadier General Ed. M. McCook arrived in Tallahassee from Macon for this purpose, and received the surrender of 8,000 Confederate troops in Florida. Thus did Tallahassee, the only capital of a Confederate state east of the Mississippi River not captured by force of arms, render submission.

The opinion was entertained in Tallahassee at the time of the expedition, that General Newton, on finding that his passage of the St. Marks River was blocked, might continue his flanking movement along the east bank, ascending to the head of the rise just south of the St. Augustine road near the Jefferson County line, and attempt entry of Tallahassee *via* the St. Augustine road. Brevard (8) relates that in anticipation of such a movement, "the troops coming to reinforce the Confederates at the bridge, were ordered placed in the forts around Tallahassee, especially in the fort on the hill commanding the St. Augustine road and the hill country to the east." This earthwork, well preserved, lies in Old Fort Park, Tallahassee.

Through one of those ironies of fate, the occurrence of which does not seem wholly devoid of malice, Brigadier-General Newton, shortly after these events, did come to Tallahassee, and from the Headquarters of the District

of Florida in that city, he himself issued General Orders No. 1 on June 19, 1865, wherein is stated that in compliance with General Order No. 81, Department of the Gulf, he, as senior officer present, assumes command of the District of Florida (11), a post which he retained until the end of the following July. Major Edmund C. Weeks, during carpet-bagging days, is stated to have resided in Tallahassee (12).

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NOTE: It does not appear that any issues of the *Floridian and Journal* of Tallahassee (a semi-weekly) for February and March, 1865 have survived. (See Elmer J. Emig: "A Check List of Extant Florida Newspapers, 1845-1876." *Florida Historical Quarterly* XI (Oct. 1932) pp. 77-87). One of General Newton's reports in (1) is accompanied by an undated clipping from this newspaper.

(II) THE CADETS OF THE WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY
IN THE BATTLE OF NATURAL BRIDGE

Florida State University in Tallahassee has evolved from an institution created by the State Legislature on January 24, 1851, first known as the Florida Institute, and after January 1, 1857, as the West Florida Seminary. This occupied a building on the site of the Westcott Building of the present university. The Institute, and its successor, the Seminary, were operated for male students until October 1, 1858, subsequent to which time girls were accommodated in a separate department known as the Female Institute, housed in a building located to the rear of the Lively School (the old Leon High School), and were counted in the total enrollment of the Seminary.

Dr. Wm. G. Dodd, Dean Emeritus of the College of Arts and Sciences of the University, has supplied the following data of the enrollment in this early institution, derived principally from the 1869 report of the President of the Board of Education, Mr. J. T. Bernard (Board of Trustees) to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The enrollment in the institution in the first thirteen years of its existence, as far as can be determined from surviving reports and records, is as follows:

School Year	Students Enrolled			Comment
	Male	Female	Total	
1856-57	76	—	76	
1857-58				No data
1858-59			130-200	Opened Oct. 3 with 130 enrolled, more than one half girls. Attendance increased to about 200 at midyear.
1859-60			120	A local paper reports enrollment of "upwards of 120".
X360-61			250	About 250 of both sexes.
X361-62)	
1862-63)	No data
1863-64)	
X364-65	34	24	58	
1865-66	57	29	87	
1866-67	48	30	78	
1867-68	42	24	66	
1868-69				School closed, although one of the buildings was used for a private school.

During the war period, the Legislature of 1863 passed an Act changing the name to the Florida Military and

Collegiate Institute, and providing, in order to exempt the teachers at the Institute from conscription, that the Governor be authorized to commission such teachers as officers in the state service. According to Dr. Dodd, this Act was vetoed by Governor Milton. However the minutes of the Board of Trustees preserve a letter written by Captain V. M. Johnston, acting principal of the school, dated August 7, 1864, which in part is as follows:

"I then propose that the Board authorize me to secure the exemption of the school from military duty, except for those of a military age, at the discretion of the Governor or General Commanding the Department of Florida in cases of great emergency. I propose lastly, to secure additional arms and accouterments for the use of the school, uniforms for the Cadets, and, indeed, to do everything that is necessary to make this school a first class Military Academy, an honor to the Board, and the pride of the State."

Respectfully,

(signed) V. M. JOHNSTON

The minutes of the Board show the following action to have been taken on August 23, 1864:

"Upon motion the following resolution was adopted- Resolved: That the President of the Board be authorized and requested, after conference with the Governor of the State, and with Captain Johnston to take measures to obtain from the authorities in Richmond permission for youths under 18 years of age to pursue their studies at the Military Academy until such emergency shall occur as to require their services in the field, under an assurance that such youths shall be armed and disciplined and held subject to any requisition for military duty".

In continuance of this subject, the minutes for February 6, 1865, contain the following entry:

"Resolved: that the bill of Captain Johnston of \$115.00 for expenses incurred by him in Richmond etc., in fulfilling the instructions of the Board be allowed, and authorized to be paid".

Miss Sue Archer relates in a paper (2) describing the role of the Cadets in the battle, written in 1911, that the Cadets of the Seminary came from homes in Tallahassee and vicinity, Quincy, Bainbridge and Thomasville, as well as Jefferson County, and were about 60 in number. Since this number materially exceeds that given in the previous table as the total enrollment for 1864-65, we regretfully conclude that on this point Miss Archer is in error.

The Cadet company is uniformly referred to in the pension petitions later mentioned, as Company I, without specifying the regiment to which attached. I, being the ninth letter of the alphabet, implies that such regiment, which may have been a local militia organization, such as Home Guards, had eight other previously organized companies.

It is well and uncontrovertably known that some of the students, organized as a company of West Florida Cadets, participated in the resistance to the Federal expedition commanded by Brigadier General John Newton, which culminated in Newton's repulse at the Battle of Natural Bridge. From various circumstances: the meagerness of the surviving records of the Seminary or Institute; the equal lack of surviving Confederate military records relating to the successful repulse of this invasion; the muteness of the Cadet participants themselves; and the present absence of survivors, make it impossible at this late date, to prepare an adequate account of the unusual and unique part which this handful of teen-age boys played in this action. As a consequence the tale of their participation has begun to assume the character of folk-lore. An effort to check this trend, by the collection of all available information relating to their heroic exploit, appears desirable.

It is stated by a pension applicant that the Cadets were rendering responsible military service to the Confederate States Army and the State of Florida for 17 (7) to 18 (12) months prior to the close of the war, and that many of the older Cadets joined the Tallahassee contingent of Home Guards to go to Olustee in February, 1864 (7). Subsequent to Olustee, a military hospital was established in Tallahassee in the Masonic building (on the site of the present Masonic hall) and in the Baptist Church to the west of it, to accommodate the Federal prisoners secured in that action. These were guarded by Cadets, who also rendered other military service when no other troops were available in Tallahassee (7).

It will be recalled that the Seminary records indicate that a total of 34 unnamed male students were enrolled in

the session of 1864-65. Since the curriculum provided primary as well as secondary instruction, it is likely that this enrollment was limited to boys under military age, perhaps from 8 to 17 years inclusive. Miss Archer (2) gives a list of 43 names, purporting to be those of the Cadets who participated in the battle. J. R. Blocker (3), who was a member of Captain Gwynn's company which skirmished with the Federal advance at East River, says that on the retreat of this force to Newport on March 5th, they were there reinforced by 12 men from the *Spray* and from 20 to 30 Cadets. As already shown, Miss Archer's list is in excess of the contemporaneous enrollment of male students in the Seminary. Making allowance for boys under 12 years of age, Blocker's statement of from 20-30 (say 25) Cadets, appears credible. It is likely that many of those Miss Archer named belonged to other units of the Home Guard.

The most accurate information available today is derived from the state pension records. Eligibility for state pensions was determined by certain maximum property qualifications. Applications had to be endorsed by two companions in arms from the same unit. Consequently applications could be vouched for by men who themselves were ineligible. The following partial roster of the Cadets is secured from the pension records, the individuals being either applicants or endorsers :

MEMBERS OF COMPANY I, WEST FLORIDA CADETS MAKING OR ENDORSING
PENSION APPLICATIONS

NO.	Name	Year	Applicant	Endorser	comment
1.	Henry Ware Demilly	1852	+		
2.	D. Sheppard Shine	1851	+		
3.	Franklin P. Damon		+		
4.	C. L. Beard	1849	+		*
5.	Egbert Nims	1847	+		
6.	James B. Dickson	1850	+		
7.	John Wesley Wethington	1847	+	Of 3,8	*
8.	William W. Perkins	1852	+	Of 1,2,5,9	*
9.	W. F. Quaile	1850	+	Of 1,2,5	*
10.	Wm. A. Rawls			Of 3,6,8,9	
11.	Luther Tucker				Mentioned 7
12.	G. Lavan Baltzell			Of 4	Mentioned 7
13.	W. H. Anderson			Of 4	
14.	John Milton, Jr.			Of 6	*

*On Miss Sue Archer's list (2).

The names of four others are somewhat uncertainly mentioned by John Wesley Wethington in the endorsement of Franklin P. Damon's application. These are Pros Demilly, Charles Pearce, Tom Myers and Herman Damon, who are also on Miss Archer's list. There may also be added the name of Tod Archer, brother of Miss Sue Archer, by her statement (2), as well as that of George Lewis, by statement of his daughter, Miss Mary Lewis. Thus of approximately 25 Cadets who may have taken part in the Battle of Natural Bridge, we can rescue the names of about three-fourths from oblivion.

John Wesley Wethington of Jefferson County was, according to Miss Archer (2), the Cadet Captain. He was already a veteran, having enlisted at Monticello in 1861 in the 3rd Florida, had been wounded, captured and exchanged. He had earlier participated in the battle of Olustee.

About 9 p. m. on the night of March 4th, 1865, Tallahasseeans were aroused by whistle blasts at the railroad station made by a locomotive sent special from St. Marks with news of the Federal landing at the light house. The authorities immediately set out to muster all available men, who were mainly Militia or Home Guards. According to Miss Archer (2), the first group to respond, at about daybreak, was Captain (sic) William Miller's company from Marianna. It is not clear whether this Miller is the same individual referred to in other reports as Brigadier-General William Miller. This is likely an error, however, as she probably had Captain W. H. Milton in mind., Miss Archer (2) states that Governor Milton ordered out the Cadets, which news caused great consternation to their families, as the most were but children. Mothers and sisters went to the station to say good-by. At the station, Captain Johnston of the Seminary appears to have screened the boys according to age, retaining, those less than 12 years of age. It would be inferred from pension petition statements, that at this time they were actually inducted into the service of the CSA. Mrs. Eppes

(18) says none were permitted to go without written permission of their parents. The Cadets appear to have accompanied General Miller's force to Newport, as these appear to have been the earliest units to rendezvous at that point. On the morning of the 5th they covered the retreat of Colonel Scott with Captain Gwynn's skirmishers of the Fifth Florida Cavalry across the river bridge in the face of Major Weeks' advance. The stiff resistance there encountered forced General Newton to conclude that passage of the river at that point was impossible.

When it became apparent that General Newton would attempt to flank the Confederate position by advancing to Natural Bridge, the Cadets, who by now appear to have been under direct command of Captain D. W. Gwynn, were among the force from Newport sent during the night to Natural Bridge on the double quick. Here, according to Miss Brevard (15), the Cadets occupied a position in the center of the line, in front of the bridge, in close contact with Scott's Battalion of the Fifth Florida Cavalry to their right. Not one of the Cadets was wounded in the action (18).

In the first flush of enthusiasm following the repulse of the Federal force, the services of the Cadets received high acclaim. Thus the *Columbian* of Lake City, quoting from the *Floridian and Journal* of Tallahassee, says (17) :

"The Cadets from the Florida State Seminary were in the fight, and behaved in the most gallant manner. Their praise is on the lips of all who took part in the fight".

Some, at least, of the Cadets appear to have returned after the battle in the first Tallahassee bound train on the night of the 6th. Miss Archer (2) relates how the enthusiastic colonists at Bel Air flagged the train to dispense refreshments to the earliest of the returning troops, and decorate the boys with garlands. Others were detained to convey prisoners to Tallahassee (9).

It is likely that it was at the exercises held in the Capital building on the 9th, that the presentation of a

flag was made to the Cadets. This company flag, according to Miss Archer, was made by Miss Elizabeth Douglas, and presented by Miss Mattie Ward. "Presentation, because of inclement weather, instead of (being made) on the east front of the capital, was held in the Hall of Representatives. Captain Houston and his company were drawn up in a line in the rear of the hall and the cadets in front. *** No one knows what has become of this flag" (2).

The statements on several pension applications would indicate that the Cadets were discharged from Confederate service about May 15th, after the arrival of Brigadier-General Ed. M. McCook, USA, in Tallahassee to receive the surrender of the Confederate forces in Florida. It was stated by one of the applicants (7) that General McCook closed the school and relieved the Cadets of their arms "because they were in the service", and had just returned from actual fighting. The buildings of both schools were used as barracks by McCook's troops until September, 1865.

It was not until many years later that any expressions belittling the Cadets were voiced. Mrs. Eppes (18) describes the pride of those who participated, and the chagrin of those who did not. She further relates that:

Charley says, "We stayed right behind General Miller and his staff all the time."

"Why was that, Charley?" I asked.

"So we could protect him." was the proud answer.

I did not dare to tell the dear little fellow that the commanding officer was supposed to occupy the safest position.

Of a graver nature is the allegation of the anonymous "Old Confederate" (4) who on hearsay disparaged the Cadets, and claims that the Cadets, on reaching the battleground, and meeting with four men bearing a stretcher on which were, the remains of Captain Simmons, broke and ran. This allegation is incredible in view of the circumstance that Captain Simmons' death was a late event in the battle, occurring after Newton had withdrawn his force from before the Confederate entrenchments, and that all other accounts agree that the Cadets occupied a

place, in the trenches from the beginning of the engagement., Hence this statement is regarded as both apocryphal and libellous. Probably in after years no one in Tallahassee was better informed on the details of this engagement than Miss Caroline Mays Brevard, who quickly rose (14) to refute this slander.

It is regretted that at this late date a more comprehensive account cannot be prepared of the valor of this small company of teen-age boys, or that the names of all cannot be presented. The recollection of their heroism merits careful preservation as the most cherished tradition of the lineal successor of the West Florida Seminary, the Florida State University.

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3. J. R. Blocker, Carabelle, Communication from. *Daily Democrat* (Tallahassee) vol. IV (40) October 10, 1918.
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5. Henry Ware Demilly, Application State Board of Pensions.
6. D. Sheppard Shine, *ibid.*
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8. C. L. Beard, *ibid.*
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15. Caroline Mays Brevard: *A History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times*. Ed. by J. A. Robertson, 2 vols. Pub. 4, Fla. State Hist. Soc. DeLand, Florida, 1925. vol. II.
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TWO LETTERS OF DAVID L. YULEE

HIS OPINION ON SECESSION IN 1860

*A letter to Charles E. Dyke, Editor, Floridian. and
Journal*

Washington, May 26, 1860

Dear Sir:- I have received your letter. I was inclined to avoid expression of my views, because, in some respects they are at variance with those generally entertained by trusted and able leaders of Southern opinion, in whose judgment and fidelity I have great confidence. But, as you make the request in so distinct a manner, and so formally, that to decline an answer might imply either disrespect to yourself or indifference to the subject. I have concluded, in view of the difficult conjuncture we have reached, to give you my opinions briefly- in reply. They are conclusions about which I entertain no hesitating doubts.

The delegation from Florida, in company with others, retired from the Charleston Convention because that body refused to recognize, by distinct declaration, the indubitable right of our people to occupy the Federal territories with our slave property, and to be protected in that right by the Federal authority. This is an existing fact which cannot be changed.

The right involved in the issue is one which the Democracy of Florida unitedly hold, the claim of which cannot be surrendered nor compromised, because it may be to our interests in the future to assert and enforce it, but which is not of present practical importance, the destiny of all the territory of the Union, now possessed, being already settled. The compromise measures of 1850, shut us out from the Pacific slope, and cribbed the South to the Eastward of the Rocky Mountains. Except New Mexico, there is no territory, the climate of which will allow the profitable use of slaves. In that territory the

This letter of Senator Yulee's was published in the Tallahassee *Floridian* and *Journal* of June 9, 1860 and copied in the *St. Augustine Examiner* of June 23, 1860. The original draft in the handwriting of Yulee, with numerous corrections also in his hand, is among the Yulee Papers at the University of Florida.

tenure of slave property is fully protected by the local laws.

The new Republican party has settled upon the ground that anti-slavery, or freedom as they term it, is the normal condition of all Federal territory, and that it is the duty of Congress to take care that slaves are not intruded upon it. The practical scope of the issue they present is, that there shall be no more colonization of territory by slaveholders, nor any more admission of States recognizing or allowing that form of servitude. No more slave States, is the corner stone of their organization and their cry in the campaign.

This offensive and unjust issue the Democratic party of the whole Union join, without division, in rebuking and opposing.

A great part, I should perhaps say the greater part,, of the Northern wing of the party, hold that the inhabitants of the territory may regulate the subject for themselves whenever organized under Congressional authority, into a separate territorial community.

All, or nearly all, of the Southern portion of the party deny this, and have the advantage of judicial sanction for their opinion.

A portion of the Democracy in the Southern States, by no means inconsiderable in numbers and statesmanship, while denying the power claimed for the territorial population, adopt the compromise ground of Congressional non-intervention; or, in other words, agree, that however the right may be in law, there shall be no legislative interference by Congress with the subject of slavery in the Territories.

All those of the Northern wing of the Democracy who have not reached the conviction of our right to active legislative interference for protection in the Territories, agree to this compromise of Congressional abstinence or non-intervention..

It is not to be expected that we can bring the masses of our Northern Democratic brethren, all at once, to stand

upon higher ground than a respectable portion of the South is content to occupy.

While, therefore, the South tolerates among its own citizens a division of opinion upon this subject, and keeps within its party organizations (both Democratic and opposition) avowed and zealous advocates of non-intervention, we cannot expect our friends in the North to be undivided against it; for the issue is one chiefly of Southern interest and easy enough to be carried in its extremest form in the South, but difficult to be carried in any form by a party in the North, under existing circumstances.

Individually, I have never, in any form or to any degree, yielded my approbation, or assent, or countenance to the idea that the inhabitants of a Territory have any power to exclude slaveholders, or to the other idea of Congressional non-intervention as a compromise. I met the issue upon both points instantly upon this suggestion in 1847, and 1848, and have never changed nor modified my position.

The one issue which I consider it incumbent upon the South never to abandon is the right of colonization; or, as I once expressed it, the Liberty of Growth.

My opinion is that the Democratic party of Florida should stand where it is.

I have never been favorable to the plan of National Conventions. They are, on the contrary, very objectionable to me. I think they have resulted in dwarfing the standard of statesmanship, compromising the true principles of the Constitution, confusing instead of simplifying the party issues, and perverting the system of the Constitution to the detriment of the smaller States of the Union. I heartily wish this may be the last of them and am anxious to see our State relieved from entanglement with this vicious party device.

I would not send a delegation to the proposed Richmond Convention, because I never wish to witness a Southern *party* convention, be the number of States sending delegates few or many-the more-the more dangerous. In a convention of Southern *states*, many or few,

I am ready to join at any time-the sooner, in my judgment, the better for our own security and for the Union. But a Southern party convention is a means to divide and weaken the South without any countervailing good.

I would not send a delegation to Baltimore, because, having once left the convention, we cannot return with dignity and self-satisfaction; because I do not believe the convention can or will, nor could any National Convention, in the present divided opinion of the constituencies, come up to the full declaration of the principle upon which we went out, while to accept any compromise of it, or even a doubtful declaration, might involve us in an apparent surrender of our ground ; and because I do not wish to give further countenance to National Conventions.

I would support the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, if nominated by a vote of *two thirds of the Convention*, because a sufficient number of the votes from the South must combine in such result to challenge our respect; because the policy I' would desire for the South, and which I will not now explain, is most likely to prevail under the administration of such a nominee; because our support could be given, under the circumstance of our withdrawal and persistent absence, without involving us in any surrender or modification, direct or implied, of our claim to full rights in the territories ; and because I do not think it advisable to dissolve the great Democratic party, which has so long upheld the Constitution of the country and the rights of the States, and which is yet destined, I hope, to much useful service in the cause of Constitutional Government. It is entirely united now in resistance to the odious abolition issues of no more slave States and the civil equality of the negro race, and if the coming campaign does no more than to trample out these abominable and monstrous violation& of the principles of our Federal Union, it will have accomplished much.

[*Secession*]

I give my opinions without arguing to convince or persuade others to their adoption. They are very much in-

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fluenced by the very serious and controlling conviction I entertain, that if the modern Republicans succeed in acquiring possession of the Federal Government, it will be the duty of the Southern States to secede from the present confederacy until new guaranties of their rights can be obtained ; and in failure of this, to seek their safety in a new Union of sympathizing and homogeneous States.

Respectfully,

Your obedient serv't,

D. L. YULEE.

CHAS. E. DYKE, ESQ., Tallahassee.

DUTY

A letter to his son

New York, Octbr 18, 1856

My Dear Son.

You have returned home and father was not there to meet you. Your mother writes me you are becoming impatient to see me. I am glad to hear that, because it is a sign you love me, and think of me. I am very anxious to see you too; because I love you very much. If I was not kept away by a duty, I would have come long ago to hug you in my arms.

You will wish to know what is meant by a duty. I will try to explain it to you. You cannot fully understand such matters yet, but you can begin to try to understand them.

God made us all. As he had the power to make us, and it was his will to make us, he made us as he pleased; and the same power and will can change us, or destroy us, how and when he pleases. And so, because God made us, we are subject to his will. If you make a picture on your slate, you can change it when you please, and destroy it by rubbing it out when you please: And the picture is only on the slate because you chose to make it-and stays there because you chose to keep it there. It couldn't make itself-and it couldn't keep itself there. Could it? So it

is subject to your will. Well then for the reason that God by his power made us, and keeps us in existence, we are subject to his will If your will is that the picture shall hang on the wall, there it has to hang But it has no life and no understanding. The difference between the picture you made and the man God made is that God had the great power to make man with life and understanding When God tells the man that he has made that he must do this, or do that, the man ought to do it—because God made him and has a right to use him.

That is duty—to obey the will of God, who made us.

Now one of the commands of God is that besides loving him, we must also love our fellow men. So then, it is our duty to love all men—because that is God's will and command—and He made us.

Well, when we love any one we wish to make them happy—we give them anything we have—we do anything that will be useful to them or give them pleasure. As an example. You love your mother, and because you love her you like to do what she desires you to do, and to give her anything you have that would please her, and to spend your time in making her happy, and being useful to her.

Well, as I love my fellow men, I spend time in doing what will be useful to them, and will make them happy. One of the things that will do them good and make them happy, is to make a rail-road, so that they can visit each other easier, and get more good from what they labor to make from the earth. And so, as nobody else was attending to making this railroad for them, and I could do it, it was my duty to do it: for God made me to love my fellow creatures, and I can only show my love for them, by making myself useful to them.

So then, I am absent from Washington doing a duty, and that has kept me away from you and I am losing all the pleasure of seeing you, and your sister, and your mother, and aunts, because I ought to do my duty to others when it is not contrary to my duty to my family—for God has bid me to serve my family first. My family-

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is my wife, and my children, and all that depend upon me.

I don't think you can understand what I have been writing to you, but as it is a great happiness for a man to obey God, and act under a sense of duty, I wish to help you turn your thoughts in that direction as early as possible. You will get a little glimmer of what I mean from this letter-and every now and then I will tell you the same thing over and over again-and at last you will understand and be accustomed to think about it. And this will help you to make you a good man-and if you are a good man you will be a happy man.

This City that I am in is a very large one. (One of these days I will bring you to see it.) There are ten times more people here than in Washington. And yet I am not happy with them, but am longing to be at Washington—Why? because I love you, and sister and mother-and you are all in Washington. Of all the people in this place and of all the people in this world, I love your mother, and sister, and you most-so you can judge how much I love you.

Now, my son, I wish you every morning to go and kiss little Margaret for me, and tell her it is for father-and then do the same with mother.

God bless you my son

Yr father
D. L. YULEE

MASTER CHARLES W. YULEE

A JOURNAL OF LT. ROBERT C. BUCHANAN
DURING THE SEMINOLE WAR

Edited by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

THE BATTLE OF OKEECHOBEE

The journal of Lieutenant Robert C. Buchanan, adjutant of the Fourth Infantry, contains the chronicle of the operations of a unit in the campaign against the Seminole Indians from November 1837 to January 1838.¹ Written during the pursuit of the Seminole Indians along the Kissimmee river and Lake Okeechobee, the journal reveals the conditions under which the soldiers lived and fought, his description of the country, and his views on the Seminoles and the war. There is also a description of the famous battle at Lake Okeechobee on December 25, 1837, for which action Buchanan received a citation.

Robert Christie Buchanan was born in Baltimore on March 1, 1811, the son of Andrew and Carolina Virginia (Johnson) Buchanan. He was a nephew of Louisa Catherine Johnson, the wife of President John Quincy Adams. Following his graduation from West Point, Buchanan was commissioned second lieutenant of infantry and assigned to the Fourth Regiment. He served with this organization during the Black Hawk, Seminole, and Mexican wars. In the Civil War, Buchanan at first commanded the defenses of Washington. Later, he served as a brigade commander in General Sykes's "Regular Division" at Gaines's Mill, Malvern Hill, Second Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg. During the Reconstruction period, he commanded the Department of Louisiana. during the difficulties with the Ku Klux Klan. He died on November 29, 1878.

Buchanan had arrived in Tampa with his regiment on February 10, 1836 to participate in the pursuit of the Seminoles.² Because of illness, however, he had been ordered in the fall of 1836 to Baton Rouge until the state

1. The original journal is in the Robert C. Buchanan Papers, Maryland Historical Society, to whom grateful acknowledgement is made for permission to publish it.

2. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*. (New York: 1848), p. 107.

of his health would be such that he could once more resume his duties.³ While at that place, he was authorized to visit relatives in Washington,⁴ where he remained until October 1837, when he was ordered to rejoin the Fourth Infantry at Tampa.⁵ He did not, however, arrive in Florida until November 23, 1837, the date of the commencement of his journal. Following the battle at Lake Okeechobee, Buchanan remained in Florida until he was transferred in the early summer of 1838 to Fort Cass, Tennessee.⁶

JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN

Thursday Nov. 23, 1837. I arrived at Tampa Bay after a boisterous passage of nine days from New Orleans.

Nov. *24th.* Went ashore and reported myself to Col. Taylor, 1st Inf.⁷ who was in command at that Post. He ordered me to remain, and accompany his command to Pease [Peace] Creek on Monday.

Nov. *25th and 26th.* The troops have been and are preparing to start for the Kissimmee tomorrow morning.

Nov. *27th.* The command consisting of the 1st Infy (Lt. Col. Davenport), 'a detachment of artillery Lt. Gunnison 2nd Art. (Ordnance Officer),' and the Shawnees, the whole under Col. Taylor, started this morning at 10 o'clock for Kissimmee. Lt. Col. Cummings 2nd Inf.¹⁰ was left in command at Tampa Bay with one compy 1st Inf. one of the 4th Inf. (H) and one of the 4th Art. We marched 12 miles this day and encamped on one of the chain of ponds called Thlonoto-sassa or plenty of flints.

3. Col. Roger Jones, The Adjutant General, to Lieut. Robert C. Buchanan, November 21, 1836. Buchanan Papers.

4. Jones to Buchanan, December 8, 1836.

5. Jones to Buchanan, October 2, 1837.

6. Buchanan received letters throughout the spring of 1838 addressed to him at Port Basinger and Fort Brooke. On March 28, he had been ordered to proceed to Tampa Bay with his company in charge of a detachment of Indian prisoners. See Orders No. 98, Headquarters Army South of the Outhlacoachee, Fort Basinger, Florida, March 28, 1838. Buchanan Papers.

7. Col. Zachary Taylor (1784-1850).

S. William Davenport of Pennsylvania. Lt. Col. 1st Inf.

9. John W. Gunnison of New Hampshire. 2nd Lt. 2nd Artillery.

10. Alexander Cummings of Pennsylvania. Lt. Col. 2nd Inf.

An express arrived from Tampa this evening bringing information of the arrival of Cap. Lowd¹¹ and his company of artillery from Fort Mitchell¹² in a steam boat of light draught, and also of the arrival of Lt. Cross¹³ with a detachment of Recruits, and of the vessel containing the horses of Col. Gentry's Missouri Volunteers.¹⁴ Information was likewise received from Col. Smith,¹⁵ of his having forced his way 30 miles up the Sinnibal, and of his being stopped in his progress by the grounding of the steamboat which had his command on board.

Nov. 28th. We marched this day to a small running branch about seven miles from Pease Creek.

Nov. 29th. We marched this day to Fort Frazer Pease Creek, where we arrived about 11 o'clock a.m. The work which was finished, was called Fort Frazer¹⁶ after the lamented Col. [Capt.] Frazer¹⁷ who fell on the memorable 28th December 1835.¹⁸ Col. Taylor assumed the command of its garrison consisting of the 4th Inf., Lt. Col. Foster,¹⁹ the 6th Inf., Lt. Col. Thompson,²⁰ and Capt. Munro [e]'s²¹ Compy, Artillery. The Florida Volunteers joined today under Major McRae. The Delawares came up last night.²² An order was issued directing us to be ready to march to-morrow for the Kissimmee, directing Capt. Lowd's company to garrison Fort Frazer, and thanking Lt. Col. Foster, his officers and men, for the prompt and able manner in which the Fort was constructed by them. I assumed my duties as Adjutant 4th Infy. this day.

11. Allen Lowd of Massachusetts, Capt. 2nd Artillery.

12. Fort Mitchell, Alabama. On the west bank of the Chattahoochee river, near Columbus. Established 1825. Abandoned 1837.

13. Osburn Cross of Maryland. 1st Lt. 1st Inf.

14. Col. Richard Gentry of Missouri. *vid.* *Full Justice. The Story of Richard Gentry and His Missouri Volunteers in the Seminole War.* St. Louis, 1937.

15. Col. (sometimes called General) P. F. Smith, commanding officer of a regiment of Louisiana Volunteers.

16. Fort Frazer was a temporary fort on Peace Creek near Lake Hancock.

17. Capt. Upton S. Frazer of New Jersey.

18. Dade's Massacre.

19. William S. Foster of New Hampshire. Lt. Col. 4th Inf.

20. Alexander R. Thompson of New York. Lt. Col. 6th Inf.

21. John Munroe of New York. Capt. Co. G 4th Artillery.

22. Some of the friendly Indians used as scouts.

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Now. *30th*. I started at 1 o'clock this afternoon and marched about 7 miles to a small marsh which required bridging, and halted for the night. A tree fell and struck the waggon train (several broken).

December 1st. Marched today until 10 o'clock a.m. when we halted to bridge a small creek connecting two ponds, which detained us three hours. Many ponds in our course. Halted for the night at the Buffalo Ford. Distance marched to-day about 5 miles. The country passed over is most hilly but well watered.

December 2nd. Started about ten o'clock and crossed the Buffalo Ford on a bridge 137 yards long, which had been thrown across between the time of the halt yesterday, and that hour. This ford appears to be the gorge of a chain of lakes, and is very much overgrown with high grass. The country over which we passed today was hilly and abounding in ponds of very good water. The distance marched was about five miles, and the direction E.N.E.

December 3rd. Started at daybreak and marched steadily until 11 o'clock a.m. when we were interrupted by a very wide swamp. It was crossed, however, without bridging, the bottom being hard sand. After passing the swamp and crossing a small prairie which skirts it, was defiled through a narrow swamp into the opening of the gorge of the everglades. Our course now changed in direction to N.E. by N. and after marching five miles we reached the Kissimmee where we encamped. Numerous fresh trails of cattle were seen along the latter part of our course. The whole distance marched today is twelve miles. The Kissimmee at this place is about twenty yards wide, with a fine sandy bottom, and a current of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile per hour. The water is a dark color and very good quality. The banks when the river is low, are bluff, but at a high stage of water are overflowed. A species of seed cane grows very abundantly immediately on the eastern bank, and farther back, is the ordinary pine growth of the territory. The river at its present stage is fordable at this point. Bridging will be necessary, however, for the purpose of crossing the waggons.

December 4th. A bridge was commenced this morning across the river, as were also a picket work and two block-houses for its defence. Capt. Allen²³ with Lieut. Grandin²⁴ and their two mounted companies of the 4th Infy., comps "D" and "K" started on a scouting expedition across the Kissimmee and in the direction of Fish [eating] Creek. They went eight miles when they met with an obstacle in the swampy nature of the ground which was so boggy that they could not cross their horses. They saw numerous trails of cattle, and Indians, men, women, and children. These trails appeared to lead to Fish[eating] Creek. Major McRae of the Florida Volunteers was also sent out with his battalion in the direction of Lake Istokpoga, or Dead Man's Lake. After a march of 10 miles they returned and reported that they had crossed a creek connecting two lakes south of our present position, and that they met with trails leading from Fish[eating] Creek to Istokpoga. Col. Gentry with his Missouri Volunteers arrived this afternoon. He brought information that 200 of his Regiment had returned to their homes, on account of not having any horses, theirs having been lost on the passage to Tampa from New Orleans. He was very much mortified at their defection, which was most dastardly on their part. Col. Gentry's command was ordered to encamp near Capt. Allen on the opposite side of the river.

December 5th. The bridge and defences are still in progress of construction. Last night about nine o'clock a Spaniard and Seminole came into camp from the Indians at Istokpoga. They reported that the Indians were disposed to adhere to the treaty made with General Jessup,²⁵ but, owing to the treatment of some of those who had been taken and placed in irons, and the capture of Powel,²⁶ they had not as much confidence in the good

23. George W. Allen of Massachusetts. Capt. 4th Inf.

24. William G. Grandin of New York. 2nd Lt. 4th Inf.

25. General Thomas Jesup (1788-1860), Taylor's predecessor in command of the Army in Florida.

26. For a full account of Powell or Osceola see Chas. H. Coe, *Red Patriots*. Cincinnati, 1898. *passim*.

faith of the whites as they formerly had. They likewise said that they were coming in within four days to see the commanding officer preparatory to bringing in their wives and children, The Seminole whose name is Thle-hajo or "Crazy Arrow" started back this morning with a small supply of provisions to meet the Indians and assure them from Col. Taylor that they should be kindly received and well tolerated in the event of their coming in. And moreover that if, after having a talk with him, they should decide on continuing the war, he would allow them to return to their friends without harm, for he was determined on his part, to keep the most perfect good faith with them in every thing which he might promise to do. The waggons were sent back to Tampa Bay this morning, escorted by 40 men under the command of Capt. Barker²⁷ of the 1st and Lieut. Brooke²⁸ of the 6th and Screven²⁹ of the 4th. In the afternoon a company of Missourians, the Berthunters as they style themselves, arrived from Tampa under the command of Major Morgan.³⁰ The bridge and defences not being completed, they were obliged to ford the river to get to their camp ground near Col. Gentry's Regiment.

December 6th. The bridge was finished today. In the afternoon, Capt. Russell³¹ arrived with a company of the Missourians, which completed Col. Gentry's command. They joined his camp.

December 7th. Last night was marked by a pleasant occurrence. About nine o'clock, Jumper,³² his son Holatoochee,³³ and Antonio,³⁴ came into camp on a visit of

27. Thomas Barker of New York. Capt. 1st Inf.

28. Francis J. Brooke of Virginia. 1st Lt. 6th Inf.

29. Richard B. Screven of South Carolina, 1st Lt. 4th Inf.

30. Major Alexander G. Morgan, commander of scouts with Taylor's detachment.

31. Samuel L. Russell of New York, killed Feb. 28, 1839.

32. Jumper, a Seminole chief characterized as "a cunning, intelligent, and deceitful Indian." Sprague, op. cit., p. 97. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Charleston, 1836, p. 239.

33. Holatoochee, "a brave warrior and great hunter." Sprague, op. cit., p. 98.

34. Probably one of the Indian-Negroes.

friendship. With them came also Parks³⁵ and three other Delawares who had been sent into Alligator's Camp for the purpose of persuading them to come in. The Commanding Officer had a talk with Jumper and the others this morning. They renewed the assurance of their intention to adhere to the treaty made with Genl. Jessup, and called his attention to the fact that they had not killed or fired on one single white man since that treaty was made. They required ten days to be employed in collecting their people and cattle, at the end of which time they promised to be at Pease Creek and ready to surrender. About 3 o'clock they left camp and Abraham who had been with us for a long time as a guide, accompanied them. I started this morning about nine o'clock in company with Capt. Taylor³⁶ and Dr. Abadie,³⁷ in a boat made of a wagon body, for the purpose of exploring the Kissimmee to its entrance with the lake below, and also to examine the island nearest to the main land upon which a mound was said to be. We found the river very crooked, having taken forty courses by the compass between the bridge and the mouth. The banks on either side of the river are overflowed in high water and have abundant growth of cane on them. The water varied in depth from five to ten feet, and entered the lake by two distinct channels. The channel coasting the land on this, the west side, carried the greatest depth of water. I consider the river as navigable for vessels not drawing more than four feet, even in the lowest stages. The lake seems to be many miles long ; but as it was filled with islands, and we could not go far into it we could only conjecture its length, which was estimated at twenty or thirty miles. Its width seems to be about five miles. There was ten feet of water within 100 yards of the shore. We visited the Island and found the mound which our guides had described as being on it. Its base was 100 paces in circum-

35. Capt. Parks, "an active and intelligent half-breed who is at the head of the friendly Indians." Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

36. Capt. Joseph P. Taylor, 2nd Artillery (a brother of Col. Zachary Taylor).

37. Asst. Surgeon Eugene H. Abadie.

ference, and its height about 20 feet. We found fresh signs of Indians on foot and on horseback, and a trail which, from what I have since learned, must lead to Alligator's Camp. The Island was so large that we could not form any idea of its size. We started home about $\frac{1}{2}$ past one, and found the current of the river so strong that we did not reach camp until six o'clock. At night about nine o'clock one of the sentinels fired three times at what he took to be men. A false alarm.

December 8th. The Battalion of Mounted Georgians commanded by Major McCree left us this morning on their return to their homes after serving six months. They are to be mustered out of service at Wewnansville. The fort being finished, was this day called Fort Gardner³⁸ in memory of Capt. George W. Gardner, 3rd Art., who fell on the 28th December 1835. This work is very small, too much so for the purposes which it is to serve.

December 9th. Capt. Allen with Comps. "D" and "K" 4th Inf. started this morning after reveille, for Fort Frazer in order to procure forage for his horses. Capt. Parks, chief of the Delawares, accompanied by Tony, the interpreter, and some of the friendly Indians, started for Alligator's Camp, and took with them pack-mules to assist in bringing in the effects of the Seminoles who promised to come in. They left camp at $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine a.m. Antonio the Seminole who came in with Holatoochee, and who was left here by him, started about nine o'clock in company with an interpreter and a soldier, to take a canoe down the river and into the lake to the creek over which it is said to be necessary to cross in order to get to Alligator's Camp by the shortest route. He drew for me on paper a map of the country about this neighborhood, shewing me the positions and giving me the names of the various lakes and streams in the vicinity. An express arrived from Tampa in the evening and brought a large mail. Col. Taylor received a letter from Genl. Jessup in

38. Fort Gardner was located on the Kissimmee river near Cypress Lake. It was in use as a temporary fort during the Florida War.

which he informs him that Micanopy³⁹ was to meet him with his band on the 5th inst. and after thanking Col. Taylor for his exertions and success he directs him to take the utmost care to secure and retain Alligator⁴⁰ in the event of his falling into our hands. The mail brought me a letter from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which, if it did not make me feel perfectly happy, at all events proved to me that those whom I esteem as friends there, have not failed to think of me with kindness and good will during my absence.⁴¹

December 10th. We are still lying in camp and time begins to hang heavily. Nothing new today.

December 11th. Went this morning to find a ford across Walk-in-the-Water creek but did not succeed. About three o'clock p.m. a negro named Whann, son-in-law to Abraham⁴² came in from the other side of the river. He stated that the chief O-pis-hajo, from whose camp he came had not heard of the movements of Hola-too-thee and Jumper when he left on the day before at noon. He said that the news would reach him that *same evening*. He has cattle which he wishes to sell, and which he can bring in, in one and one half days. One of the Delawares died to-day, and at night one of their chiefs came to Col. Taylor to say that it was their custom among them to fire off guns during the night and just before day, and that he wishes permission to do so. It was granted.

December 12th. According to custom, the Delawares fired two guns about ten o'clock last night, and two others about half an hour before daybreak this morning.

December 13th. A part of the train returned yesterday from Tampa with provisions. Capt. Allen's mounted companies "D" and "K" 4th Inf. returned this after-

39. Micanopy was the legitimate head of the Seminole nation, fifty years of age, "very fat and excessively lazy." Sprague, op. cit., p. 97.

40. Alligator was "the most shrewd, crafty, politic, and intelligent chief of the Nation." *Ibid.* 97-98.

41. Buchanan received a letter from an old friend of the family informing him of the wedding of the son of Gov. Edward Lloyd of Maryland. Buchanan Papers.

42. For a full account of this remarkable Negro see *Florida Historical Quarterly* XXV p. 1.

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'noon from Pease Creek. The pack mules loaded with oats arrived from Tampa.

December 14th. The train and pack mules returned to Pease Creek escorted by Capt. Allen's command.

-December 15th. Two boats arrived this day from Tampa. Toney arrived with Ho-colen from Jumper's camp. He states that Abraham is with Gen. Smith on the Coloosa-hatchee, and will return in a day or two.

December 16th. A train of 25 waggons loaded with provisions and forage arrived from Pease Creek escorted by Lieut. Grandin and a mounted detachment. Toney and Ho-colen left early today for Alligator's camp. The latter is a nephew of Hola-too-thee.

December 17th. Four negroes came in from the other side of the Kissimmee and brought with them 40 head of cattle. Abraham returned late in the evening.

December 18th. An order was issued today directing the 4th Inf. to proceed to Pease Creek and then in the direction of Charlotte Harbour, whilst the mounted men took the route to Alligator's camp. The day is very rainy and disagreeable.

December 19th. The order of yesterday was countermanded, and preparations commenced for a general move toward Alligator's and the Mikasukies.⁴³ We are to march at daylight tomorrow morning. Major Wilson⁴⁴ started about 2 o'clock p.m. for the purpose of taking command of Fort Frazer, and receiving Jumper and Hola-too-thee who are daily expected at that post. Major Graham⁴⁵ of the 4th and Capt. Noel⁴⁶ of the 6th joined their Regiments this morning. They brought with them the information of the greatest affliction which has befallen me for many years. My kind and beloved friend Thos. B. Adams is no more. He died on the 14th inst. at Fort Dade of typhus fever, regretted by all who had the good fortune to know

43. The Mikasuki tribe formerly lived in the Tallahassee region. Sam Jones was chief at the time of the Battle of Okeechobee.

44. Henry Wilson of Pennsylvania. Major 1st Inf.

45. William M. Graham, of Virginia. Bvt. Major 4th Inf.

46. Thomas Noel of Maryland. Capt. 6th Inf.

him.⁴⁷ As an officer, he was one of the brightest ornaments of the Army. As a man, he was truly one of the noblest works of God! May our Father in heaven receive him into his bosom and grant him eternal and everlasting happiness. Amen. This event has so depressed me, that I feel a melancholy depression of spirits which I cannot shake off. Poor Tom! If my grief is a proof of my affection for you, my tears will show how deeply I deplore your loss. Thus is there added one more to the list of those noble souls sacrificed to the outrageous and scandalous policy pursued by our Government toward the Seminoles. And more yet remain and must follow unless Congress should in their wisdom devise some other means of putting an end to this expensive and most disgraceful war. May Heaven soon grant us its termination!

December 20th. The Army started this morning after sunrise. Lieut. Harrison,⁴⁸ Lieut. Gunnison 2nd Art. and Asst. Surgeon Abadie were left at Fort Gardner, with all the sick of the command. We marched 14 miles today, when we met Jumper and his party on their way to deliver themselves up at Pease Creek. Jumper is an elderly man, but yet very hale and hearty. He looks very much as if he were moving more from fear than from inclination. His son is with him. Our course today is S.E. by E. December 21st. Started at daylight and marched through large prairies with an occasional open pine growth to separate them. Small islands of live oak and other forest trees are scattered through all these prairies, and their appearance would indicate that they are entirely covered with water in a rainy season. We met one of Jumper's men and his wife who had lost their ponies and were following the party. Lieut. Gaillard⁴⁹ 1st Inf. being too unwell to proceed any further was obliged to leave us and return to Tampa this morning. We marched 20 miles

47. Thomas B. Adams of Massachusetts. 1st Lt. 1st Art. Died December 14, 1837. A temporary fort on the Caloosahatchie river was named for him.

48. Joseph P. Harrison of Alabama. 1st Lt. 6th Inf.

49. Peter C. Gaillard of South Carolina. 2nd Lt. 1st Inf.

today on yesterday's course. The mounted men encamped two miles in advance of us.

December 22nd. An express bringing information in relation to some movement of Indians, came in from the advanced camp about 10 o'clock last night, and caused Col. Taylor to move with the Missourians and Capt. Allen's command about 3 o'clock this morning. The 1st and 6th with the train followed after, about sun-rise. About 11 a.m. we arrived at and forded a creek which is the outlet of Lake Istokpoga or "Dead Man's Lake," so called from several Indians having been drowned in attempting to cross it in their canoes. This creek empties into Lake Kissimmee. We reached Alligator's camp about two o'clock and found the mounted men resting there. Moved on and encamped on the lower Kissimmee about 4 p.m. The country today was better wooded than that passed over yesterday, but is still mostly overflowed in rainy seasons. Indeed, my own impression is, that, in any other than a remarkably dry season like the present, it would be utterly impassible for a waggon train. Alligator's camp was remarkably well situated. It was on the edge of a thin pine woods with a large prairie on either side of it, and commanding a view of both. From here, he could, without being seen himself see any one approaching him from either direction, and could advance or retreat as circumstances might require. He was not in his camp and had only left two or three old or infirm men and boys, with a few women. He still professes peace, but that is all fudge. He has doubtless gone to join Sam Jones.⁵⁰ I forgot to mention that Jumper's son had returned with us yesterday. He remained this evening, with the friendly Delawares in Alligator's Camp.

December 23rd. Col. Foster, Major Graham, and four men went back this morning to Alligator's Camp and returned about 1 p.m. bringing with them Alligator's party. Among them is one of Micanopy's wives with her two children. They did not appear to like the idea of coming into our

50. The chief of the Mikasukies. "A great prophet and medicine man." Sprague, op. cit., p. 99.

camp. One of the men is Coacoochee-or William [Wild Cat], a fine, tall, handsome looking fellow possessing some influence.⁵¹ A Fort, to be called Fort Basinger,⁵² after one of my class-mates who fell on the 28th December 1835, was commenced this morning, on the west bank of the Kissimmee. The Army started at 2 o'clock p.m. in pursuit of the Indians, forded the river, and marched about seven miles when we encamped. Capt. Munro [e] with his company of Artillery, Lt. Babbitt,⁵³ A.Q.M. and Garrison's Pontoneers with all the sick, were left to build and garrison the Fort.

December 24th. Started this morning at daybreak, in a hard rain, over an extensive, wet prairie. At 10 o'clock a.m., we arrived at a cabbage hammock, when Capt. Allen with his mounted men, surprised a number of Indians, men, women, and children. Five men came out with an old one at their head, bearing a white flag. Four of them were retained, and the old fellow was released upon the express condition that he should proceed with the whole party to Fort Basinger and arrive there tomorrow evening. These Indians informed us that Sam Jones and his band were encamped about eight miles north east of that place on a lake and in a large cypress hammock, where he was ready to fight us. We started again to look for Sam, and arrived at the hammock about four in the afternoon. Preparations were made to pass through the hammock and it was done by sunset. They did not attack us, as we had expected. As the rear guard was crossing, Capt. Parks of the Delawares, discovered two hostile Indians, one mounted and the other on foot. This fellow was well armed and equipped. He stated that Sam Jones is a few miles off awaiting our approach, with a large force. We are encamped this evening in a place which they have occupied within a few days, and if accounts be true, we shall have some warm work tomorrow. Could we

51. Coacoochee, "the most dangerous chieftain." *Ibid.*, 98.

52. Fort Basinger **was** a temporary fort on the Kissimmee river, **seven**. teen miles above its mouth. It was named after William E. Basinger of Georgia, 2nd Lt. 2nd Artillery, killed in Dade's Massacre.

53. Edwin B. Babbitt, of Connecticut. 1st Lt.

settle this business at one blow, I should feel satisfied, but it cannot be, and we are likely to get nothing but hard work for our pains. As fighting is our trade, we must e'en pay our respects to Samuel with a good grace in the morning. By the way, I wonder how he feels just about this particular time. He cannot fail to have an exalted opinion of his own consequence, when he sees how many men are about to visit him. We have marched about 16 miles to-day. It ceased raining about four this afternoon;

[The Battle of Okeechobee]

December 25th. A Merry Christmas to all of my friends at home, and may they have many happy returns of the season !! Mine I am inclined to think will be more lively, but not so pleasant as theirs. We started this morning at sunrise, and after marching through pine woods for three miles, arrived at another hammock which seems to be a branch of the first one. Here again we expected to be attacked in crossing, but were not; A part of the Missourians were dismounted, and led the advance of the left column composed of the 1st and 4th. The hammock had a deep creek running through it, and was bordered on the opposite side by a small but very muddy swamp. The right company of the 4th was hardly over, when an Indian was discovered on horse-back, running like a good fellow. As soon as he found that he was discovered, he came up and surrendered himself. -He informed us that the Indians amounting to 2,000 men, women, and children were in a large hammock on Lake Okee-chobee, waiting to give us battle. He said that there were more than 200 warriors, and that they were in a very bad place where we could find it hard to get at them. He is a brother-in-law of John Cavallo,⁵⁴ who is with the hostiles, having made his escape from Saint Augustine. He said that the hostiles were only a half of a mile distance from us. In the mean time, the whole army being crossed, Col. Taylor proceeded to make his arrangements for battle: The

54. John Cavallo was a half-breed. His later career was noteworthy in Indian Territory and Mexico.

officers were called together, and informed of the plan of attack, and the troops were again put in motion under the guidance of our last prisoner. In about half an hour we came to a camp which had evidently been just abandoned in great haste. The fires were still burning; and provisions were before them scattered and cooking. The disposition for battle was immediately made in the following order. Two lines were formed, the first composed of the Delawares on the right, Morgan's spies in the centre, and Gentry's Regiment on the left. The second was formed by the 6th and 4th, the 6th on the right. The first line was ordered to receive the enemy's fire, and in the event of its proving too severe, the line was to retire in rear, and form behind the 2nd line, which was to continue the battle. The first line advanced according to instructions, received the fire of the enemy and broke, after which they could not be rallied again. The 6th and 4th moved on in position and continued the fight and finally drove the enemy and retained possession of the field until night, when we retired to hard ground and encamped. The enemy was posted in the strongest position that I have ever seen in Florida. He was in an immense hammock on the borders of Lake Okee-chobee, having, at the point where we penetrated it, a saw-grass swamp three quarters of a mile wide and several miles long. The mud in the swamp was knee deep, and we were completely tired out before we reached the hammock. The right of the 6th in entering, was on the large Indian trail leading through it, and where the grass joined the hammock, the Indians had posted themselves both behind and in tops of the trees, having cut away the grass so as to clear a large space directly within shot of them. From this position they poured so deadly a fire on the 6th that most of the officers and men were soon killed and wounded, and the companies on the right were forced to give way. The 4th gained the hammock without much loss. Although the enemy opened pretty heavily on our left flank, Major Graham and Lieut. Screven, with comps. "B" and "C" having penetrated by the right flank, succeeded in driving

him across a deep creek about half a mile on the left. In the meantime, the Regiment having crossed the hammock in line, found itself taken in rear and on the right flank by the enemy, who having succeeded in crippling and repulsing the 6th, had full opportunity to turn their attention to the 4th. As soon as I perceived this, I reported the fact to Col. Foster, who immediately ordered a change of front by inversion, to the right, which brought us face to face with the Indians.⁵⁵ The 4th saved the day by this maneuver, for although the Indians charged and endeavoured to drive us, they could not make any impression, and were themselves driven back. They charged us three times after our change of front, and at the second attempt a mistake on our part occurred which proved very fortunate for them. As they came up within a few yards of our line, some of the men hailed them to know if they were Delawares, whereupon Col. Foster called out to them to know if such were the case. They answered "yes, Delaware! Delaware!" but at the same time continued to take up their positions behind trees and stumps, from whence they soon gave us a volley which caused more injury than all of the others during the fight. During the parley, I brought up my rifle and took a deliberate aim at an Indian, and while in that position six crossed my bead, when, thinking that they were Delawares, I brought my piece down without firing. At the same time, I ordered a man of "I" Company not to fire, just as he was about pulling trigger, and I had hardly got the words out of my mouth, when the rascals having got their places behind the trees, commenced firing, and our men began falling. However, we rushed them, and drove them and when they returned, it was in a very reduced force. In fact they were then whipped. Two companies of the 6th from the left had by this time joined our line on the right and remained with us during the rest of the engagement. When the firing was nearly over, the 1st

55. Buchanan was cited for this particular action by Col. Foster in a letter to Col. Zachary Taylor summarizing the engagement, March 26, 1838. Buchanan Papers.

Infantry which had been left outside us as a reserve, were sent into the hammock, but had none of the fighting. They marched up and down the hammock but were too late for the fun; it was all over and the Indians had retired. We left the hammock about sunset and encamped on the hard ground outside the saw-grass. In this action, besides performing my duties as Adjutant, I commanded companies "G" and "I" which were without any other officers, and by the time that the battle was over I was very much fatigued. In fact the men were so much jaded, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could bring out the bodies of the dead. Our loss was severe, particularly in the 6th Regiment. The total killed was four officers and twenty-one non-commissioned officers and men. Total wounded one hundred and eleven. Total killed and wounded 137. Among the killed were Lt. Col. Thompson, Capt. Van Swearingen,⁵⁶ 1st Lt. F. L. Brooke, and 1st Lt. and Adjutant J. P. Center,⁵⁷ all of the 6th Infantry. Among the wounded were Col. Gentry of the Missourians, Capt. G. Andrews,⁵⁸ and Lieut. Walker of the 6th⁵⁹ and Lieut. Hooper of the 4th,⁶⁰ the first severely and the last very slightly. A sad Christmas has this been; for us and our friends.

December 26th. Col. Gentry died last night. His son was wounded by his father's side at the same instant almost, that the colonel was shot. Today has been passed in burying the dead, and making litters for the wounded. The mounted men were sent out this morning to scout, and reported on their return that they had endeavoured to head the cypress-swamp but could not succeed. The friendly Indians have captured, yesterday and today, nearly three hundred head of cattle and about 150 ponies. We start for Fort Basinger tomorrow and many expect an attack at the crossing of the big cypress.

December 27th. We started this morning shortly after

56. Capt. Joseph Van Swearingen of Maryland.

57. 1st Lt. John P. Center of Massachusetts.

58. Capt. George Andrews of Washington, D. C.

59. 2nd Lt. William H. T. Walker of Georgia.

60. 1st Lt. John L. Hooper of Massachusetts.

sunrise and made good progress with the wounded; without being attacked. We encamped this evening at a cabbage hammock about seven miles from Fort Basinger. The Sergeant Major of the 6th⁶¹ and one private died on the march. An express will start tomorrow morning for Tampa. Major Loomis, 1st Inf.⁶² with one compy of Missourians will go as far as Fort Gardner to send provisions to meet us.

December 28th. Wrote home to say that I was safe, last night, by the light of the fire and with a lead pencil, on my knee. I hope that Father will be able to decypher the writing. It will be a bad old business if the mail should get wet. Marched to Fort Basinger. We find the litters to be most convenient and easy for the men who are badly wounded. They are far preferable to the Ambulances.

December 29th. Started for Fort Gardner, and marched about 18 miles. Capt. Munro[e] 4th Art. with his "G" Compy and Lt. Lamotte⁶³ with "A" Comp. 1st Inf. were left to garrison Fort Basinger. Capt. Allen with the mounted companies of the 4th started for Charlotte Harbour. On the march today Major Graham and myself were left with ten men to make a litter for Private Dougherty of "I" Compy 4th Inf. who was so badly wounded as not to be able to travel in a waggon. We did not overtake the Army till near sunset.

December 30th. Marched today to within 14 miles of Fort Gardner. A long march which the wounded bear remarkably well.

December 31st. Marched to Fort Gardner. Met the train on its way to Fort Basinger. Major Loomis with a mail was with it. Lieut. Gates⁶⁴ with 28 men from Fort Hamilton⁶⁵ joined today. These men of the 4th had been sent away on account of sickness. Lt. Berrien of the 6th⁶⁶ also

61. Henry Sleephack who died of wounds received.

62. Gustavus Loomis of Vermont. Bvt. Major 1st Inf.

63. Joseph H. Lamotte of North Carolina. 1st Lt. 1st Inf.

64. Collinson R. Gates of New York. 2nd Lt. 4th Inf.

65. A temporary fort in Florida during the war.

66. William D. Berrien of Georgia. 1st Lt. 6th Inf.

joined with some of the sick. I found our letter here, not from home. I certainly write. very often.

January 1st 1838. The commencement of a new year ! May Heaven shower its blessings on my parents and grant them the enjoyment of health during this year. May its protecting hand be stretched over all my relatives and friends, and may they show themselves sensible of and grateful for its mercy. And lastly may I so improve in my habits and manners as to render myself worthy- of the love of those whom I am most anxious to love me. Col. Foster with the 4th and 6th and the wounded started this morning for Fort Fraser ; the Indian prisoners were with us. A false alarm was caused by the Missourians who started in advance, just as we were crossing a bad swamp. An act, just in keeping with their usual courses of conduct. I am more and more convinced every day that volunteers are utterly worthless as troops. Marched to within 2 and one half miles of the Buffalo Ford.

Jan. 2nd. Marched to Fort Fraser, where we were joined by Lt. Lincoln, 4th Inf.,⁶⁷ one of the new citizen appointments. He brought me a letter from Newcomb.⁶⁸ We found in addition to the Garrison of the Fort, Capt. Thistle's company of Phila. Volunteers. The Shawnees, and Seminoles under Jumper who had delivered themselves up, were encamped about three miles from the Fort. The 4th took up its old position and encamped.

Jan. 3rd. Capt. Noel proceeded with the 6th, the wounded and the prisoners to Tampa this morning. Parks was ordered to escort the Seminoles into Fort Brooke. All went but about 28, the Shawnees and Delawares escorting them. Preparations are made to establish the 4th in the vicinity in order to recruit them for another trip. Major Graham went with the 6th.

Jan. 4th. The 4th moved across the river this morning and encamped about three quarters of a mile from the Fort, at a round pond. Camp Rest was established and a little

67. George Lincoln of Massachusetts. 2nd Lt. 4th Inf.

68. Possibly Lt. Francis D. Newcomb of Massachusetts, who resigned his commission on September 30, 1836.

rest is hoped for. Arms discharged and cleaned. Trains are beginning to pass in both directions to and from Tampa.

January 5th. Fourteen Seminoles came in and joined Jumper's party which has been encamped between, the Port and us. Jumper was permitted to remain here, it being thought that his presence might assist in bringing in the others.

January 6th. Lieut. Screven, Doct. McPhail,⁶⁹ and myself started for Tampa this morning and after a hard ride reached there. at night. I rode in an ambulance not being able to ride on horseback. We met on the road Major Graham with Comp. "H" of the 4th which has hitherto been kept at Tampa, and a waggon train. Major G. was accompanied by Doct. Satterlee,⁷⁰ Capt. Barker, 1st Inf., and Lieut. Hill, 2nd Inf.⁷¹ The sick of the 1st and 4th having recovered were sent out with this train. On my arrival at Tampa I went direct to call on the ladies, and found them well.

January 7th. Busied myself today in preparing my returns of Clothing and Ordnance. The Indians being about to start for Fort Pike⁷² today, Screven and I accompanied them down the bay to their ship. There we found Holo-too-thee and 50 others who, having surrendered at Ponta Ras[s]a had been shipped to Tampa. Holo-too-thee has the fiercest countenance of all the Seminoles whom I have seen. His nephew Ocolegu was with him. We returned to Tampa in the afternoon. Col. Cummings 2nd Inf., Lt. Tibbetts [Tibbatts], 4th Inf.,⁷³ and Col. Gentry's son went over with the Indians, the first two in charge of them, and the last as a passenger.

69. Asst. Surgeon Leonard C. McPhail of Maryland.

70. Asst. Surgeon Richard S. Satterlee of Michigan.

71. James M. Hill of Maine. 1st Lt. 2nd Inf.

72. Fort Pike was located about 35 miles northeast of New Orleans.

73. Stephen T. Tibbatts of Maryland. 2nd Lt. 4th Inf.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Frontier General. By James W. Silver. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. pp. XVIII, 291. \$4.50.

In a period prolific in the production of biographies, the lives of military leaders have been by no means neglected. Among these, two monumental masterpieces stand out: Freeman's *Robert E. Lee* and Churchill's *Marlborough*, four volume studies, thorough in research, each brilliant in its own distinguished narrative style.

Among the shorter, but none the less excellent military biographies of the last two decades, there are two, each of which should lead the careful reader to read the other. They are Major Charles Winslow Elliott's *Winfield Scott, The Soldier and the Man* (1937) and in 1949, twelve years after Elliott's Scott and one hundred years after Gaines's death, there appeared an adequate biography of Scott's great rival, the volume by Professor Silver which is the subject of this review.

Now, we have a scholarly and adequate life of Gaines, for Professor Silver has done a thorough and extensive piece of research, and has embodied the results of that research in a well-written and compact biography-the story of a picturesque frontier character-one who for more than a half century was a prominent figure of his day.

Although Gaines was for many years a highly controversial character and although he frequently crossed or was crossed by others quite as controversial as himself, Professor Silver has treated Gaines and also his opponents with critical judgment and scholarly restraint. Nowhere does he seem to have allowed bias, preconceived notions, or personal prejudices to warp or distort his findings, or conclusions to invalidate his judgments.

Especially fair and impartial is his treatment of such difficult matters as the Gaines-Troup and Gaines-Scott controversies-particularly the friction between the two generals in the Second Seminole War. This quarrel led to recrimination and counter-recrimination that did no

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credit to either of the participants. Certainly, Scott's charge that Gaines interfered with him in Florida does not rest on factual foundation; nor did Gaines's putting Scott in the Benedict Arnold category have any basis in fact. Here were two loyal courageous generals behaving like hot-tempered school boys.

Professor Silver has traced the development of Gaines from his early experiences in Tennessee, to which his family had migrated from his birthplace in Culpeper County, Virginia *via* North Carolina. Even at the outset of his career Gaines passed through exciting experiences—the survey of the Natchez Trace, the capture of Aaron Burr, the dangers and difficulties of frontier militia service. From the War of 1812, he and his great rival Scott both emerged with distinction as generals, and here the long and at times bitter rivalry between them began.

To Floridians many pages of this Gaines biography will be of fascinating interest. Gaines had a major part in the capture of Burr just short of the Florida border and later became involved in the West Florida boundary controversy. He was with Jackson in the invasion of Florida and presided over the court-martial that condemned Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Gaines was in command of the forces that expelled the “freebooters” from Amelia Island. He played an important part in the early stages of the Second Seminole War. The city of Gainesville at which the University of Florida is located is named in his honor. Florida readers will enjoy the chapter entitled “Seminole Fiasco”, in which Gaines's part in the Second Seminole War is covered in detail. That it was a “fiasco” was probably more the fault of the War Department and Congress than of the military forces and their generals. To herd up and remove the Seminoles was a task the government planners had woefully underestimated.

The attitude of General Gaines toward Texas independence and annexation, his views on National security, and frontier transportation are covered in appropriate chapters. One wonders to what degree Gaines's ideas on transportation may have been influenced by Monroe's great

Secretary of War Calhoun, who certainly in his early advocacy of "Internal Improvements", favored better transportation for defense purposes.

With the Mexican War, Scott gained the military ascendancy over Gaines, who was now getting to be an elderly man, and over another Scott rival, Zachary Taylor, who like Scott and Gaines had participated in a phase of the war against the Seminoles in Florida..

The closing months of Gaines's life were happy ones : In November of 1848, Taylor was elected on the Whig ticket to the presidency, after which he resigned his commission in the army. On December 15 Gaines was ordered to resume his command in the West, making his home in New Orleans until his death about midway of the next year. Your reviewer is grateful to Professor Silver for giving him a better understanding of General Gaines.

The format of this biography is excellent, and one feels that the author and his publishers are to be congratulated for adding another most creditable volume to the well-known Southern Biography Series.

JAMES MILLER LEAKE

University of Florida

Southern Politics in State and Nation, by V. O.. Key, Jr.. with the assistance of Alexander Heard. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). 675,xiv pp.

The author of *Southern Politics* says Florida is a political curiosity in that it ranks high in political atomization, being unled and unbossed ; and although giving occasionally a faintly tropical rebel yell, it is in other respects a world of its own unlike the other states of Dixieland.

While this has undoubtedly been true since the Broward Era, today Florida, as the most highly urbanized of the southern states and, with a rapid increase in population, is moving away from atomization towards the integration of state-wide political groups within the framework of the Democratic party.

The hopes of many in this state for a two-party system in the near future receive only cold water from Key, as he characterizes the southern wing of the G.O.P. as not a vote-getting organization but rather a combination of business men to whom the Republican party is an expensive hobby joined with old-time patronage seekers, with only the foggiest notions on voter organization.

In taking up the significance of the Negro switch from Republican to Democrat since 1932, the author quotes from the *Florida Sentinel* (Tampa, Nov. 29, 1947) in which the editor points out that inasmuch as political issues have long been settled in the Democratic primary, the colored voters are no longer willing to be "Lincoln children."

The treatment given the recent political battles in Florida is excellent, with numerous maps and charts which bring out the results. Out of the political past only Sidney J. Catts and Napoleon B. Broward are dealt with -and they briefly. *Southern Politics* is best in its factual coverage of the Florida political situation, weakest in its generalizations.

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Two forthcoming publications of the University of Florida Press relate to Florida history. *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat*, by Samuel Proctor, is a full biography of Florida's liberal governor. Here *They Once Stood* by Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin is a translation of documents describing the end of the mission era in Florida, together with an account of the first excavations of any mission sites east of the Mississippi river.

These are in press and will appear in November and December. They will be reviewed in the next issue of this **QUARTERLY**.

A HISTORY OF WINTER PARK

A recent publication is *Chronological History of Win-*

ter Park by Claire Leavitt MacDowell. This is a copiously illustrated volume of 332 pages printed by the Orange Press. The contents were collected- largely. from newspaper files, and have been arranged by decades and years from 1881 to the present. The history. of Rollins College is included *passim*.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE PROPOSED MOVE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

As provided for at our late annual meeting, ballots were mailed to each member of the Society for voting on the proposal to move our headquarters and library to the University of Florida campus. Votes were mailed in by 286 members, of which 274 members approved and authorized the move. This result was reported and certified to by the Canvassing Committee on October 4, who were Mrs. Alberta Johnson, Miss Dena Snodgrass, and Mr. Albert C. Manucy.

The officers of the Society are pleased by the large number of members who expressed themselves on this matter, and more particularly by the clearly indicated and nearly unanimous approval of the recommendation of the directors.

A committee of three members has been appointed to draw up and execute a contract with the University of Florida, composed of the President, Rembert W. Patrick of the University, and one of our lawyer members, Russell L. Frink of Jacksonville.

The committee appointed for carrying out the move is, Mrs. Johnson, and Edward C. Williamson of the University. It will probably be several months before the move can be completed.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU
President, Florida Historical Society

THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Society for 1951 will be held at St. Petersburg on March 30 and 31 as guests of the St. Petersburg Historical Society. The January issue of the *QUARTERLY* will include full details of arrangements and program.

SAMUEL C. COLLIER

Mr. Samuel Carnes Collier of Delray Beach who has served on our Board of Directors since the annual meet-

ing of 1949, lost his life in an automobile accident on September 23. Since his election he has attended every meeting of our Board though they were held far from his home, and he showed his interest in the Society in other ways. A floral tribute from the Society was placed on his grave.

Mr. Collier was a graduate of Yale University, and a lieutenant commander in the air arm of the Navy during the Second World War. After the War he was in general charge of the extensive Collier Corporation properties in Collier county.

DONATIONS TO OUR LIBRARY

Gifts of Mrs. Henry Parr:

Lanier, *Florida, Its Scenery, Climate and History*. 1875

Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida*. 1858

Dewhurst, *History of St. Augustine*. 1881

Irving, *Conquest of Florida by De Soto*. 2 vols. 1835

Sewell, *Sketches of St. Augustine*. 1848

Gifts of Mark F. Boyd:

View of St. Augustine. 1764

View of Governor's house, St. Augustine. 1764

Gift of Jose Navarro Latorre, Madrid, through M. F. Boyd:

Relacao Verdaaeira . . . (Elvas narrative of DeSoto) (With facsimile of the first edition.) F.G.P.Vidal, Lisbon, 1940

Gift of Inter-American Center, Rollins College:

The Florida Indian and his Neighbors, Ed. by John W. Griffin. 1949

Gift of Mrs. James L. Borland:

Photostat. Letter, John Westcott to Isaac Coryell. Halifax canal. 1883

Gift of Mrs. R. V. Ott:

Badger and Leavel families, Ocala, 1850-1860

Gift of Mrs. Lewis Ogden:

View of St. Augustine, 1841 (6" x 55")

Schedule of lands, DeBary Merchant Line. 1882

Gift of Mrs. Jane Hancock:

"Cows-Unlimited," from *Southerner*, Feb. 1950

Gift of Mrs. Guy Withers:

Plan of Sanford, 1890

MS. Harrel family, 1833-1903

Photos of early Sanford

Gift of the author:

The Flag Myth, by Ratcliffe M. Hills

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

Mark B. Boyd, past president of the Florida Historical Society, is Historian of the Florida State Board of Parks and Historic Memorials.

Herbert J. Doherty Jr. has a Master of Arts degree from the University of Florida and is now an instructor in the University of North Carolina.

Frank F. White Jr. has a Master of Arts degree from the University of Maryland. He is a member of the staff of the Maryland Historical Society.

